

The Complete Works of
EUTROPIUS

(fl. fourth century AD)



Contents

The Translation

Summary of Roman History

The Latin Text

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The Dual Text

Dual Latin and English Text

The Biography

Life of Eutropius by J. C. Hazzard

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Eutropius

Complete Works

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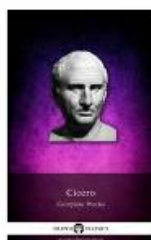
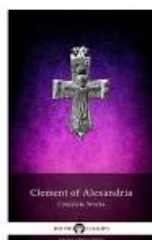
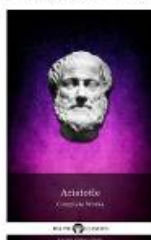
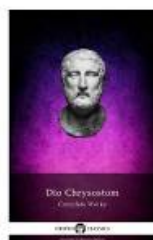
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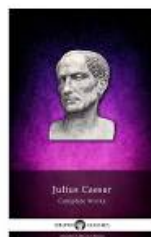
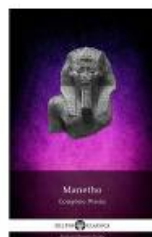
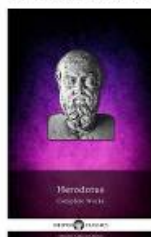
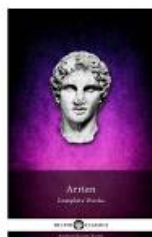
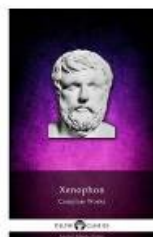
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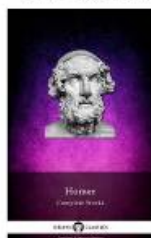
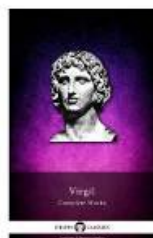
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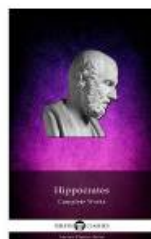
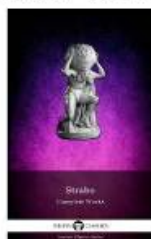
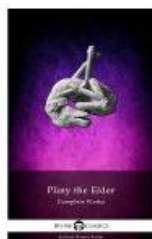
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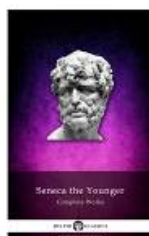
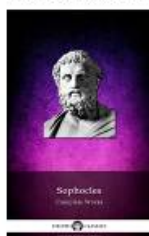
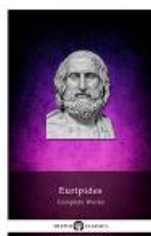
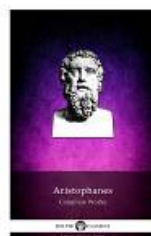
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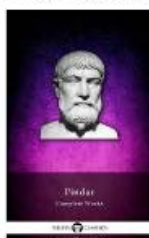
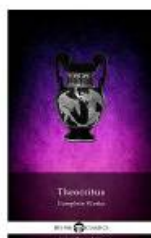
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The Translation



Bordeaux , south-western France — Eutropius is reported to have been from Burdigala (Bordeaux), the capital of Roman Aquitaine.



Roman remains of an amphitheatre at Bordeaux



The Roman Empire in the time of Hadrian (c. 130 AD), showing, in south-western Gaul, the imperial province of Gallia Aquitania

Summary of Roman History



Translated by John Selby Watson, 1886

The Roman historian Eutropius flourished in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. He held the office of secretary at Constantinople, accompanied Julian on his expedition against the Persians in 363 and was alive during the reign of Valens (364–378), to whom he dedicated his history. The *Breviarium historiae Romanae* is a compendium of ten books of Roman history, from the foundation of the city to the accession of Valens. It has come down to us complete and was compiled with considerable care from the best accessible authorities. The text was written with impartiality and in a concise, even simple style. It is particularly useful to historians for its account of the First Punic War, as no copy of Livy's original books for that period have survived.

For the Republican period, Eutropius largely depended on an epitome of Livy, while for the Empire, he appears to have relied on Suetonius and the now lost *Enmannsche Kaisergeschichte*. For the final books, Eutropius probably made good use of his own personal experiences. The stylistic and methodological virtues of *Breviarium historiae Romanae* caused it to be much used by later Roman chroniclers. In particular, it received expanded editions by Paul the Deacon and Landolf Sagax. It was translated into Greek by Paeanius around 380 and by Capito Lycius in the sixth century. Although Eutropius' text is known for its occasional idiosyncrasies, the plain and very readable style made it a favorite elementary Latin schoolbook for many years.



A marble bust representing Valens (328-378), who reigned as Eastern Roman Emperor from 364 to 378. He was given the eastern half of the empire by his brother Valentinian I after the latter's accession to the throne. Valens was defeated and killed in the Battle of Adrianople, which marked the beginning of the collapse of the Western Roman Empire.



Portrait of Emperor Julian on a bronze coin from Antioch, c. 360 — Eutropius accompanied Julian the Apostate on his expedition against the Parthians in 363.

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A sixteenth century depiction of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, published by Guillaume Rouillé. Tarquin, the last king of Rome, appears prominently in the first book of Eutropius' 'Summary of Roman History'.



Porphyry bust of Galerius (c. 250-311), who was Roman emperor from 305 to 311 and features in the final book of 'Summary of Roman History'.

Dedication

To the Emperor Valens, Maximus Perpetuus, Augustus.¹

According to the pleasure of your Clemency,² I have arranged in a brief narrative, in the order of time, such particulars in the history of Rome as seemed most worthy of notice, in transactions either of war or peace, from the foundation of the city to our own days; adding concisely, also, such matters as were remarkable in the lives of the emperors; that your Serenity's divine mind may rejoice to learn that it has followed the actions of illustrious men in governing the empire, before it became acquainted with them by reading.³

ENDNOTES.

¹ The title stands thus: DOMINO VALENTI MAXIMO PERPETUO AUGUSTO. On the last two words Tzschucke has this note: “For *Perpetuo Augusto* Sextus Rufus” (who wrote a *Breviarum de Victoriis et Provinciis Populi Romani*, dedicated to Valens), “has in his dedication *Semper Augusto*. The Germans would say *Allzeit Mehrer des Reichs*. See Pütman *De Titulo Semper Augustus*, p. 60.” Tzschucke, apparently, took *perpetua* as an adverb, equivalent to *semper*. But Cellarius and others consider it as an adjective. Cellarius cites, in comparison with it, from Gruter, Inscript. p. 285, n. 8, D. N. *Valentiniano Perpetuo ac Felici Semper Augusto*, and p 279, n. 4, *Aeterno Imperatori Nostro Maxima Optimoque Principi Aurelio Valeriano Diocletiano*; adding, also, that Theodosius is called *perennis princeps* in Reines. Class. Inscr. iii. 62. I have accordingly given *Perpetua* as an adjective. Sextus Rufus’s dedication, too, as edited by Cellarius, Verheyk, and others, has *Perpetuo Semper Augusto*.

² *Mansuetudinis tuae*. Similarly, a few lines below, he says *Tranquillitatis tuae mens divina*, “your Serenity’s divine mind.” The use of such titles gradually became common in the lower age of Roman literature, commencing soon after the reign of Tiberius. They were the parents of our highness, majesty, excellency, &c.

³ However Eutropius meant to flatter Valens, he could not assuredly have shown him better, than by addressing him thus, to be such as he is described by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxix., *subrusticus homo*, and xxxi. 41, *Subagrestis ingenu, nec liberalibus studiis eruditus*. — *Vinetus*. Some have doubted the genuineness of this dedication to Valens, because the Greek translator has not included it in his version; but the authority of manuscripts, and the resemblance of its style to that of Eutropius, have induced Cellarius, Verheyk, Tzschucke, and most other commentators, to believe it genuine.

BOOK I

Origin of Rome, I. — Characters and acts of the seven kings of Rome, II. — VIII. — Appointment of consuls on the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, IX. — War raised by Tarquin; he is supported by Porsena, X. XI. — First dictator, XII. — Sedition of the people, and origin of the tribunitial power, XIII. — A victory over the Volsci, XIV. — Coriolanus, being banished, makes war on his country with the aid of the Volsci; is softened by the entreaties of his wife and mother. XV. — War of the Fabii with the Veientes; the census, XVI. — Dictatorship of Cincinnatus, XVII. The Decemviri, XVIII. — War with the Fidenates, Vejeutes, and Volsci, XIX. — Destruction of Rome by the Gauls, XX.

I

The Roman empire, than which the memory of man can recall scarcely any one smaller in its commencement, or greater in its progress throughout the world, had its origin from Romulus; who, being the son of a vestal virgin, and, as was supposed, of Mars, was brought forth at one birth with his brother Remus. While leading a predatory life among the shepherds, he founded, when he was eighteen years of age, a small city on the Palatine Hill, on the 21st day of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, and the three hundred and ninety-fourth after the destruction of Troy.¹

II

After founding the city, which he called Rome, from his own name, he proceeded principally as follows. He took a great number of the neighbouring inhabitants into the city; he chose a hundred of the older men, by whose advice he might manage all his affairs, and whom, from their age, he named senators. Next, as both himself and his people were in want of wives, he invited the tribes contiguous to the city to an exhibition of games, and seized upon their young women. Wars having arisen in consequence of this outrage in capturing the females, he conquered the Caeninenses, the Antemnates, the Crustumini, the Sabines, the Fidenates, and the Veientes; all whose towns lay around the city. And since, after a tempest that suddenly arose, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, he was no longer to be seen, he was believed to have been translated to the gods, and was accordingly deified. The senators then ruled at Rome by periods of five days; and under their government a year was passed.

III

Afterwards Numa Pompilius was elected king, who engaged indeed in no wars, but was of no less service to the state than Romulus; for he established both laws and customs among the Romans, who, by the frequency of their wars, were now regarded as robbers and semi-barbarians. He divided the year, before unregulated by any computation, into ten months, and founded numerous sacred rites and temples at Rome. He died a natural death in the forty-third year of his reign.

IV

To him succeeded Tullus Hostilius, who re-commenced war. He conquered the Albans, who lay twelve miles distant from Rome. He overcame also in battle the Veientes and Fidenates, the one six, the other eighteen miles from Rome: and increased the dimensions of the city by the addition of the Coelian Hill. After reigning thirty-two years, he was struck by lightning, and consumed together with his house.

V

After him, Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa by a daughter, succeeded to the government. He fought against the Latins, added the Aventine and Janiculan hills to the city, and founded Ostia, a city on the sea-coast, sixteen miles from Rome. He died a natural death in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

VI

Priscus Tarquinius was next invested with the government. He doubled the number of the senators, built a Circus at Rome, and instituted the Roman games which continue even to our time. He also conquered the Sabines, and added a considerable extent of territory, which he took from that people, to the lands of Rome; he was also the first that entered the city in triumph. He built the walls and sewers, and commenced the Capitol. He was killed in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, by the sons of Ancus, the king whom he had succeeded.

VII

After him Servius Tullius was placed on the throne, the son of a woman of noble origin, but who was, nevertheless, a captive and a slave. He also defeated the Sabines; annexed three hills, the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline, to the city; and formed trenches round the city walls. He was the first to institute the census, which till that time was unknown throughout the world. The people being all subjected to a census during his reign, Rome was found to contain eighty-four thousand citizens, including those in the country. He was cut off in the forty-fifth year of his reign, by the criminal machinations of his son-in-law Tarquin the Proud, the son of the king to whom he had succeeded, and of his own daughter, whom Tarquin had married.

VIII

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last of the kings, overcame the Volsci, a nation not far from Rome, on the road to Campania; reduced the towns of Gabii and Suessa Pometia; made peace with the Tuscans; and built a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol. Afterwards, while he was besieging Ardea, a town that lay about eighteen miles from the city, he was deprived of his throne; for, as his younger son, who was also named Tarquin, offered violence to Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, a most noble and chaste woman; and as she, after complaining to her husband, her father, and her friends, of the injury that she had suffered, slew herself in the sight of them all; Brutus, in consequence, who was a kinsman of Tarquinius,² excited an insurrection among the people, and deprived Tarquin of his regal authority. The army, also, which was engaged with the king in besieging Ardea, soon after deserted him; and the king himself, on going to the city, found the gates closed against him; and, after having reigned five-and-twenty years, was forced to take flight with his wife and children.

Thus a regal form of government continued at Rome, under seven kings, for the space of two hundred and forty-three years, while as yet the dominion of the city, where its extent was greatest, hardly reached fifteen miles.

IX

Henceforth, instead of one king, two consuls were chosen, with this view,

that, if one should be disposed to act unjustly, the other, having equal authority, might exercise a control over him. It was determined also that they should not hold their office longer than a year; in order that they might not, by continued possession of power, grow too overbearing; but, knowing that in a year they would return to the level of private persons, might constantly conduct themselves with moderation.

In the first year, then, after the expulsion of the king and his family, the consuls were Lucius Junius Brutus, who had been the chief agent in the banishment of Tarquin, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia. But that dignity was soon taken from Tarquinius Collatinus; for it was enacted that no one who bore the name of Tarquin should remain in the city. Having collected, therefore, all his private property, he removed from the city, and Valerius Publicola was made consul in his stead. King Tarquin, however, after his expulsion, stirred up war against Rome, and, having collected a large force from all quarters, in order that he might be reinstated on the throne, took the field.

X

In the first encounter, Brutus and Aruns, Tarquin's son, killed each other; but the Romans left the field conquerors. The Roman matrons mourned for Brutus, the guardian of their honour, as if he had been their common father, for the space of a year. Valerius Publicola fixed upon Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, the father of Lucretia, for his colleague; and he dying of some disease, he next chose Horatius Pulvillus for his fellow consul.

Thus the first year had five consuls; Tarquinius Collatinus having left the city on account of his name, Brutus having fallen in battle, and Spurius Lucretius having died a natural death.

XI

In the second year also, Tarquin, with a view to being re-established on the throne, again made war on the Romans, and, as Porsena, king of Tuscany, afforded him aid, almost took Rome. But he was also defeated on that occasion.

In the third year after the expulsion of the royal family, Tarquin, as he could not get himself re-admitted into the kingdom, and as Porsena, who had

made peace with the Romans, gave him no support, retired to Tusculum, a town which is not far from Rome; where he and his wife lived for fourteen years in a private station, and reached an advanced age.

In the fourth year after the abolition of the kingly power, the Sabines, having made war on the Romans, were conquered; and a triumph was celebrated over them.

In the fifth year, Lucius Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, and consul for the fourth time, died a natural death, and in such extreme poverty, that the expenses of his funeral were defrayed by a public subscription.³ The matrons mourned for him, as for Brutus, during a year.

XII

In the ninth year after the overthrow of the kingly power, the son-in-law of Tarquin, having assembled a vast army, in order to avenge the wrongs of his father-in-law, a new office was introduced at Rome, which was called the dictatorship, and which was more absolute than the consulate. In the same year also a master of the horse was appointed to be an officer under the dictator. Nor can anything be named more like to the imperial authority, which your Serenity now enjoys, than the ancient dictatorship, especially since Caesar Octavianus, also, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and Caius Caesar before him, ruled with the title and rank of dictator. The first dictator at Rome was Lartius; the first master of the horse, Spurius Cassius.

XIII

In the sixteenth year after the termination of the regal power, the people at Rome, thinking themselves oppressed by the senate and consuls, broke out into a sedition. On this occasion they created for themselves tribunes of the people, as their own peculiar judges and defenders, by whom they might be protected against the senate and the consuls.

XIV

In the following year the Volsci recommenced hostilities against the Romans; and being overcome in the field, lost also Corioli, the best city that they had.

XV

In the eighteenth year after the banishment of the royal family, Quintus Marcius, the Roman general who had taken Corioli, the city of the Volsci, being compelled to flee from Rome, directed his course, in resentment, to the Volsci themselves, and received from them support against the Romans. He obtained several victories over the Romans; he made his way even to the fifth mile-stone from the city; and, refusing to hear a deputation that came to sue for peace, would have laid siege even to the place of his birth, had not his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia gone out from the city to meet him, by whose tears and supplications he was prevailed on to withdraw his army. He was the next after Tarquin that acted as general against his country.

XVI

In the consulate of Caeso Fabius and Titus Virginius,⁴ three hundred noblemen, members of the Fabian family, undertook alone a war against the Veientes, assuring the senate and the people that the whole contest should be brought to an end by themselves. These illustrious men, therefore, each of whom was capable of commanding a large army, setting out on their expedition, all fell in battle. One only remained out of so numerous a family, who, from his extreme youth, could not be taken with them to the field. After these events a census was held in the city, in which the number of the citizens was found to be a hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and nineteen.

XVII

In the following year, in consequence of the blockade of a Roman army on Mount Algidus, about twelve miles from the city, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus was appointed dictator; a man who, possessing only four acres of land, cultivated it with his own hands. He, being found at his work, and engaged in ploughing, assumed, after wiping the sweat from his brow, the toga praetexta; and set free the army with great slaughter among the enemy.

XVIII

In the three hundred and second year from the founding of the city, the consular government ceased; and, instead of two consuls, ten magistrates were appointed to hold the supreme authority, under the title of decemviri. These

during the first year conducted themselves with honour; but in the second, one of them, Appius Claudius, proceeded to offer violence to the maiden daughter of a certain Virginius, who was at that time filling an honourable post on military service against the Latins on Mount Algidus; but the father slew her with his own hand, that she might not suffer violation from the decemvir, and, returning to the army, raised an insurrection among the soldiers. Their power was in consequence taken from the decemviri, and they themselves received sentences of condemnation.⁵

XIX

In the three hundred and fifteenth year from the founding of the city, the Fidenates rebelled against the Romans. The Veientes and their king Tolumnius gave them assistance. These two states are so near to Rome, that Fidenae is only seven, Veii only eighteen miles distant. The Volsci also joined them; but they were defeated by Marcus Aemilius the dictator, and Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus the master of the horse, and lost also their king. Fidenae was taken, and utterly destroyed.

XX

Twenty years afterwards, the people of Veii resumed hostilities. Furius Camillus was sent as dictator against them, who first defeated them in battle, and then, after a long siege, took their city, the oldest and richest in Italy. He next took Falisci, a city of no less note. But popular odium was excited against him, on the ground that he had made an unfair division of the booty, and he was condemned on that charge and banished.

Soon after the Galli Senones marched towards Rome; and, pursuing the Romans, whom they defeated at the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, possessed themselves of the city itself, no part of which could be defended against them, except the Capitol. After they had besieged it a long time, and the Romans were suffering from famine, Camillus, who was in exile in a neighbouring city, attacked the Gauls unexpectedly, and gave them a severe defeat. Afterwards,⁶ on receiving a sum of gold, to desist from the siege of the Capitol, they retreated; Camillus, however, pursued them, and routed them with such a slaughter, that he recovered both the gold which had been given to them, and all the military standards which they had taken. Thus he entered the

city for the third time in triumph, and received the appellation of a second Romulus, as if he also had been a founder of the city.

ENDNOTES.

¹ The words *ut, qui plurimum minimumque, tradunt*, which occur in all editions before the date, are not translated; for nothing satisfactory has yet been said as to their grammatical construction. Madame Dacier suggested that we should supply *ut eos praeteream qui*. But *praeteream* is not to the purpose. Hausius's explanation is *ut ego inter eos tradam qui plurimum minimumque tradunt*. The Berlin edition of 1791 interprets better: *ut medium inter eos qui — tradunt, ego tradam*. There is no doubt that Eutropius meant that he would take a middle point between those who give the highest and those who give the lowest date; but the words to be supplied for the construction seem not to have been yet discovered. Perhaps the sense is "as those say who give the highest and lowest dates, and take a middle point between them," something equivalent to the words in italics being intended to be understood. The same words occur in b. x. c. 18, with the construction equally uncertain.

² *Parens et ipse Tarquinii*. This passage perplexed the commentators, until it was discovered that *parens* was used by writers of the lower ages for *cognatus*; for which sense of the word Tzschucke refers to Lampridius in Alex. c. 67, and to Casaubon on Capitolinus in M. Philosoph, c. 5. See Scheller's *Lexicon*, s.v. "Parens".

³ *Ut collatis e populo nummis, sumptum habuerit sepulturae*. "He had the expense of his funeral from money contributed by the people".

⁴ 479 B.C.

⁵ *Damnati sunt*. Appius and Oppius, before the day for their trial came, committed suicide. Their colleagues went into banishment voluntarily, as appears from Livy. Claudius was sentenced to death, but allowed to go into exile through the intercession of Virginius. See Liv. iii. 58.

⁶ *Postea tamen*. The word *tamen*, which disturbs the drift of the passage, is not translated. The text seems hardly sound. Livy tells the story differently.

BOOK II

Military tribunes created instead of consuls; Camillus overcomes the Volsci, Aequi, and Sutriti, Cincinnatus the Praenestini, I, II — Consular government restored, III. — Death and eulogy of Camillus, IV. — Flight of the Gauls, V — The census, VI. — Combat of Valerius Corvus with a Gaul, VII. — The Latin war, VIII. — Various defeats of the Samnites, IX. — The Gauls, Etrurians, and Samnites defeated, X. — The war with Pyrrhus, XI.-XIV. — Ptolemy, king of Egypt, sends ambassadors to Rome, XV. — The Picenians and Sallentines subdued, XVI. XVII. — Another census: the first Punic war, XVIII. — XXVIII.

I

In the three hundred and sixty-fifth year after the foundation of the city, and the first after its capture by the Gauls, the form of government was changed; and, instead of two consuls, military tribunes, invested with consular power, were created. From this time the power of Rome began to increase; for that very year Camillus reduced the state of the Volsci, which had persisted to make war for seventy years; also the cities of the Aequi and Sutriti; and, overthrowing their armies, took possession of them all; and thus enjoyed three triumphs at the same time.

II

Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, also, having pursued the Praenestini, who had advanced in a hostile manner to the very gates of Rome, defeated them on the river Allia, annexing eight cities that were under their dominion to the Roman empire; and, attacking Praeneste itself, forced it to surrender; all which acts were accomplished by him in the space of twenty days; and a triumph was decreed him.

III

But the office of military tribunes did not last long; for, after a short time, it was enacted that no more should be created; and four years passed in the state in such a manner that none of the superior magistrates were appointed. The military tribunes, however, were re-instated in their office with consular authority, and continued for three years, when consuls were again elected.

IV

In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, Camillus died, and honour next to that of Romulus was paid him.

V

Titus Quintius was sent out as dictator against the Gauls, who had marched into Italy; and had encamped about four miles from the city, on the other side of the river Anio, Titus Manlius, one of the noblest of the senators, encountering a Gaul who had challenged him to single combat, slew him; and, having taken from his neck a chain of gold, and put it on his own, secured the appellation of Torquatus to himself and his posterity for ever. The Gauls were repulsed, and soon afterwards entirely defeated by Caius Sulpicius the dictator. Shortly after, the Tuscans were defeated by Caius Marcius, and eight thousand of them were taken prisoners and led in triumph.

VI

A census was again taken; and as the Latins, who had been subdued by the Romans, refused to furnish troops, recruits were levied from among the Romans only, and ten legions were raised, making sixty thousand fighting men, or upwards; so great was the power of the Romans in war, while their territory was as yet but small. These troops having marched out against the Gauls, under the conduct of Lucius Furius Camillus, one of the Gauls challenged the most valiant among the Romans to single combat; when Marcus Valerius, a tribune of the soldiers, came forward to accept the challenge; and, as he advanced in full armour, a crow settled upon his right shoulder. Afterwards, too, when he commenced the encounter with the Gaul, the same crow, with his wings and talons, furiously assailed the Gaul's eyes, so that he was not able to see before him, and thus, being slain by the tribune Valerius, he gave him not only a victory, but a name; for he was afterwards called Corvus. For the same service also, at the age of three and twenty, he was made consul.

VII

The Latins, who had refused to furnish troops, proceeded also to demand of the Romans, that one of the consuls should be elected from their own people,

the other from the Romans; this demand having been rejected, war was commenced against them, and they were overcome in a great battle; and a triumph was celebrated on account of their defeat. Statues were erected to the consuls in the Rostra, for their service in gaining this victory.

VIII

The Romans had now begun to be powerful; for a war was carried on by them against the Samnites, who hold a middle situation between Picenum, Campania, and Apulia, at the distance of nearly a hundred and thirty miles from the city. Lucius Papirius Cursor went to conduct that war with the rank of dictator, and, on returning to Rome, gave orders to Quintus Fabius Maximus, his master of the horse, whom he left in charge of the army, not to fight during his absence. He, however, seeing a favourable opportunity, commenced an engagement with great success, and utterly defeated the Samnites; he was accordingly condemned to death by the dictator, for fighting contrary to his orders, but was saved by the powerful interposition of the soldiers and people, so great a tumult having been excited against Papirius, that he was almost slain.

IX

The Samnites subsequently, in the consulate of Titus Veturius and Spurius Posthumius, defeated the Romans with signal ignominy, and compelled them to pass under the yoke. The peace, however, which had been concluded with them through mere necessity, was broken by the senate and people. After this the Samnites were defeated by Lucius Papirius the consul, and seven thousand of them made to pass under the yoke. Papirius was granted a triumph over the Samnites. About the same time Appius Claudius the censor brought the Claudian water into the city, and made the Appian way.

The Samnites, renewing the war, defeated Quintus Fabius Maximus, with the slaughter of three thousand of his troops; but afterwards, his father, Fabius Maximus, being appointed his lieutenant, he both defeated the Samnites, and took several of their towns. Subsequently, Publius Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus, the two consuls, being sent against the Samnites, reduced their strength in some considerable battles. Thus they brought the war with the Samnites to an end; a war which had lasted for forty-nine years. Nor

was there any enemy in Italy that put the valour of the Romans more to the test.

X

After an interval of a few years, the forces of the Gauls united with the Tuscans and Samnites against the Romans; but, as they were marching to Rome, were cut off by the consul Cnaeus Cornelius Dolabella.

XI

War was at the same time proclaimed against the Tarentines (who are still a people at the extremity of Italy), because they had offered violence to some Roman ambassadors. These people asked aid against the Romans of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who derived his origin from the family of Achilles. He soon after passed over into Italy, and it was then that the Romans fought for the first time with an enemy from beyond sea. The consul Publius Valerius Laevinus was sent against him; who, having seized some spies of Pyrrhus, ordered them to be led through the camp, and the whole army to be exhibited to them, and then to be dismissed, that they might tell Pyrrhus whatever was going on among the Romans. An engagement taking place soon after, Pyrrhus, when on the point of fleeing, got the victory by means of his elephants, at the sight of which the Romans, to whom they were strange, were greatly terrified; but night put an end to the battle. Laevinus however fled during the night. Pyrrhus took a thousand eight hundred Romans prisoners, and treated them with the greatest honour; the slain he buried. On observing those lying dead, with their wounds in front, and with stern countenances, he is said to have lifted up his hands to heaven, exclaiming that “he might himself have been master of the whole world, if such soldiers had fallen to his lot.”

XII

Pyrrhus afterwards, having united to him the Samnites, the Lucanians, and the Bruttii, proceeded towards Rome. He laid all waste with fire and sword, depopulated Campania, and advanced to Praeneste, eighteen miles from Rome. Soon after, through fear of an army which was pursuing him with a

consul at its head, he fell back upon Campania. Ambassadors, who were sent to treat with Pyrrhus respecting the ransom of the captives, were honourably entertained by him; and he sent the captives back to Rome without payment. Fabricius, one of the Roman ambassadors, he admired so much, that, finding he was poor, he endeavoured to draw him over to his side with the promise of a fourth part of his kingdom, but he was repulsed with disdain by Fabricius. Pyrrhus, therefore, being struck with admiration at the character of the Romans, sent an eminent man. Cineas by name, as ambassador, to ask for peace on reasonable terms, provided that he might retain possession of that part of Italy, of which he had already become master in the war.

XIII

Such terms of peace were not satisfactory, and an answer was returned by the senate to Pyrrhus, that “he could have no peace with the Romans, unless he retired from Italy.” The Romans then ordered that all the prisoners whom Pyrrhus had sent back should be considered *infamous*¹ because they had suffered themselves to be taken with arms in their hands; and not to be restored to their former rank, until they had each produced the spoils of two slain enemies. Thus the ambassador of Pyrrhus returned; and, when Pyrrhus asked him “what kind of a place he had found Rome to be,” Cineas replied, that “he had seen a country of kings, for that all there were such, as Pyrrhus alone was thought to be in Epirus and the rest of Greece.”

The consuls Publius Sulpicius and Decius Mus were sent out as generals against Pyrrhus. A battle being commenced, Pyrrhus was wounded, his elephants killed, twenty thousand of the enemy slain, and of the Romans only five thousand. Pyrrhus was forced to retire to Tarentum.

XIV

After the lapse of a year, Fabricius was sent out against Pyrrhus, the same who, when he was before among the ambassadors, could not be won with a promise of the fourth part of his kingdom. As Fabricius and the king had their camps near to each other, the physician of Pyrrhus came to Fabricius by night, offering to despatch Pyrrhus by poison, if he would promise him some remuneration; upon which Fabricius ordered that he should be taken back in chains to his master, and that information should be given to Pyrrhus of the

proposals which the physician had made against his life. The king, struck with admiration of his conduct, is reported to have exclaimed on the occasion, "That excellent Fabricius is a man who can less easily be diverted from the path of honour, than the sun from its course." Pyrrhus then departed for Sicily. Fabricius, after defeating the Samnites and Lucanians, obtained a triumph.

The consuls Manius Curius Dentatus and Cornelius Lentulus were next sent against Pyrrhus; and Curius came to an engagement with him, cut off his army, drove him back to Tarentum. and took his camp. On that day were slain twenty-three thousand of the enemy. Curius Dentatus triumphed in his consulate. He was the first that brought elephants to Rome, in number, four. Pyrrhus also soon after quitted Tarentum, and was killed at Argos, a city of Greece.

XV

In the consulship of Caius Fabricius Licinus and Caius Claudius Canina, in the four hundred and sixty-first year from the foundation of the city, ambassadors, from Alexandria, despatched by Ptolemy, arrived at Rome, and obtained from the Romans the friendship which they solicited.

XVI

In the consulate of Quintus Ogulnius and Caius Fabius Pictor, the Picenians commenced a war, and were conquered by the succeeding consuls Publius Sempronius and Appius Claudius, and a triumph was celebrated over them. Two cities were founded by the Romans, Ariminum in Gaul, and Beneventum in Samnium.

XVII

When Marcus Attilius Regulus and Lucius Junius Libo were consuls, war was declared against the Sallentines in Apulia; and the Brundusians and their city were taken, and a triumph granted on their subjugation.

XVIII

In the four hundred and seventy-seventh year of the city, although the Roman name had now become famous, yet their arms had not been carried out of

Italy. That it might be ascertained, therefore, what the forces of the Romans were, a census was taken. On this occasion the number of citizens was found to be two hundred and ninety-two thousand, three hundred and thirty-four, although from the founding of the city wars had never ceased. It was then that the first war was undertaken against the Africans, in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius. A battle was fought with them in Sicily; and Appius Claudius obtained a triumph for a victory over the Africans and Hiero king of Sicily.

XIX

In the year following, Valerius Marcus and Otacilius being consuls, great deeds were achieved by the Romans in Sicily. The Tauromenitani, Catanians, and fifty cities more, were received into alliance. In the third year the war against Hiero in Sicily was brought to an end. He, with all the Syracusan nobility, prevailed upon the Romans to grant them peace, paying down two hundred talents of silver. The Africans were defeated in Sicily, and a triumph over them granted at Rome a second time.

XX

In the fifth year of the Punic war, which was carried on against the Africans, the Romans first fought by sea, in the consulate of Caius Duilius and Cnaeus Cornelius Asina, having provided themselves with vessels armed with beaks, which they term Liburnian galleys. The consul Cornelius fell a victim to treachery.¹² Duilius, joining battle, defeated the commander of the Carthaginians, took thirty-one of their ships, sunk fourteen, took seven thousand of the enemy prisoners, and slew three thousand; nor was there ever a victory more gratifying to the Romans, for they were now not only invincible by land, but eminently powerful at sea.

In the consulship of Caius Aquilius Florus and Lucius Scipio, Scipio laid waste Corsica and Sardinia, carried away several thousand captives from thence, and obtained a triumph.

XXI

When Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Atilius Regulus were consuls, war

was carried over into Africa against Hamilcar the general of the Carthaginians. A naval engagement was fought, and the Carthaginian utterly defeated, for he retired with the loss of sixty four of his ships. The Romans lost only twenty-two; and, having then crossed over into Africa, they compelled Clypea, the first city at which they arrived in Africa, to surrender. The consuls then advanced as far as Carthage; and, having laid waste many places, Manlius returned victorious to Rome, and brought with him twenty-seven thousand prisoners. Attilius Regulus remained in Africa. He drew up his army against the Africans; and, fighting at the same time against three Carthaginian generals, came off victorious, killed eighteen thousand of the enemy, took five thousand prisoners, with eighteen elephants, and received seventy-four cities into alliance. The vanquished Carthaginians then sued to the Romans for peace, which Regulus refusing to grant, except upon the hardest conditions, the Africans sought aid from the Lacedaemonians, and, under a leader named Xantippus, who had been sent them by the Lacedaemonians, Regulus, the Roman general, was overthrown with a desperate slaughter; for two thousand men only escaped of all the Roman army; five hundred, with their commander Regulus, were taken prisoners, thirty thousand slain, and Regulus himself thrown into prison.

XXII

In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Paulus and Servius Fulvius Nobilior, both the Roman consuls set sail for Africa, with a fleet of three hundred ships. They first overcame the Africans in a sea-fight; Aemilius the consul sunk a hundred and four of the enemy's ships, took thirty, with the soldiers in them, killed or took prisoners fifteen thousand of the enemy, and enriched his own army with much plunder; and Africa would then have been subdued, but that so great a famine took place that the army could not continue there any longer. The consuls, as they were returning with their victorious fleet, suffered shipwreck on the coast of Sicily, and so violent was the storm, that out of four hundred and sixty-four ships, eighty could scarcely be saved; nor was so great a tempest at sea ever heard of at any period. The Romans, notwithstanding, soon refitted two hundred ships, nor was their spirit at all broken by their loss.

XXIII

Cnaeus Servilius Caepio and Caius Sempronius Blaesus, when consuls, set out for Africa with two hundred and sixty ships, and took several cities. As they were returning with a great booty, they suffered shipwreck; and, as these successive calamities annoyed the Romans, the senate in consequence decreed that wars by sea should be given up, and that only sixty ships should be kept for the defence of Italy.

XXIV

In the consulship of Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Caius Furius Pacilus, Metellus defeated a general of the Africans in Sicily, who came against him with a hundred and thirty elephants and a numerous army, slew twenty thousand of the enemy, took six and twenty elephants, collected the rest, which were dispersed, with the aid of the Numidians whom he had to assist him, and brought them to Rome in a vast procession, filling all the roads with elephants, to the number of a hundred and thirty.

After these misfortunes, the Carthaginians entreated Regulus, the Roman general whom they had taken, to go to Rome, procure them peace from the Romans, and effect an exchange of prisoners.

XXV

Regulus, on arriving at Rome, and being conducted into the senate, would do nothing in the character of a Roman, declaring that, “from the day when he fell into the hands of the Africans, he had ceased to be a Roman.” For this reason he both repelled his wife from embracing him, and gave his advice to the Romans, that “peace should not be made with the Carthaginians; for that they, dispirited by so many losses, had no hope left; and that, with respect to himself, he was not of such importance, that so many thousand captives should be restored on his account alone, old as he was, and for the sake of the few Romans who had been taken prisoners.” He accordingly carried his point, for no one would listen to the Carthaginians, when they applied for peace. He himself returned to Carthage, telling the Romans, when they offered to detain him at Rome, that he would not stay in a city, in which, after living in captivity among the Africans, it was impossible for him to retain the dignity of an honourable citizen. Returning therefore to Africa, he was put to death with torture of every description,

When Publius Claudius Pulcher and Caius Junius were consuls, Claudius fought in opposition to the auspices. and was defeated by the Carthaginians; for, out of two hundred and twenty ships, he escaped with only thirty; ninety, together with their men, were taken, the rest sunk, and twenty thousand men made prisoners. The other consul also lost his fleet by shipwreck, but was able to save his troops, as the shore was close at hand.

XXVII

In the consulate of Caius Lutatius Catulus and Aulus Posthumius Albinus, in the twenty-third year of the Punic war, the conduct of the war against the Africans was committed to Catulus. He set sail for Sicily with three hundred ships. The Africans fitted out four hundred against him. Lutatius Catulus embarked in an infirm state of health, having been wounded in a previous battle. An encounter took place opposite Lilybaeum, a city of Sicily, with the greatest valour on the part of the Romans, for seventy-three of the Carthaginian ships were taken, and a hundred and twenty-five sunk; thirty-two thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and thirteen thousand slain; and a vast sum in gold and silver fell into the hands of the Romans. Of the Roman fleet twelve ships were sunk. The battle was fought on the 10th of March. The Carthaginians immediately sued for peace, and peace was granted them. The Roman prisoners who were in the hands of the Carthaginians were restored; the Carthaginians also requested permission to redeem such of the Africans as the Romans kept in captivity. The senate decided that those who were state prisoners should be restored without ransom; but that those who were in the hands of private persons should return to Carthage on the payment of a sum to their owners; and that such payment should be made from the public treasury, rather than by the Carthaginians.

XXVIII

Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius, being created consuls, made war upon the Falisci, formerly a powerful people of Italy, which war the consuls in conjunction brought to a termination within six days after they took the field; fifteen thousand of the enemy were slain, and peace was granted to the rest,

but half their land was taken from them.

ENDNOTES.

¹ *Infames*. They all suffered some sort of degradation. Those who had been in the cavalry were made to serve in the infantry, and those who had been in the infantry were sent among the slingers. See Val. Max. ii. 7, 15.

BOOK III

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, declines the aid offered him by the Romans against Antiochus; Hiero, king of Sicily, comes to see the games at Rome, I. — War with the Ligurians; the Carthaginians think of resuming hostilities, but are pacified, II. — Peace throughout the dominions of Rome, III. — The Illyrian war, IV. — Disasters of the Gauls that invaded Italy, V. VI. — The second Punic war, VII.-XXIII.

I

The Punic war being now ended, after having been protracted though three and twenty years, the Romans, who were now distinguished by transcendent glory, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, with offers of assistance; for Antiochus, king of Syria, had made war upon him. He returned thanks to the Romans, but declined their aid, the struggle being now over. About the same time. Hiero, the most powerful king of Sicily, visited Rome to witness the games, and distributed two hundred thousand modii¹ of wheat among the people.

II

In the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Fulvius Flaccus, in whose time Hiero came to Rome, war was carried on, within the limits of Italy, against the Ligurians, and a triumph obtained over them. The Carthaginians, too, at the same time, attempted to renew the war, soliciting the Sardinians, who, by an article of the peace, were bound to submit to the Romans, to rebel. A deputation, however, of the Carthaginians came to Rome, and obtained peace.

III

Under the consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Attilius Bulbus, a triumph was obtained over the Sardinians; and, peace being concluded on all sides, the Romans had now no war on their hands, a circumstance which had happened to them but once before since the building of the city, in the reign of Numa Pompilius.

IV

Lucius Posthumius Albinus and Cnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, when consuls, conducted a war against the Illyrians; and, having taken many of their towns, reduced their kings to a surrender, and it was then for the first time that a triumph was celebrated over the Illyrians.

V

When Lucius Aemilius was consul, a vast force of the Gauls crossed the Alps; but all Italy united in favour of the Romans; and it is recorded by Fabius the historian, who was present in that war, that there were eight hundred thousand men ready for the contest. Affairs, however, were brought to a successful termination by the consul alone; forty thousand of the enemy were killed, and a triumph decreed to Aemilius.

VI

A few years after, a battle was fought with the Gauls within the borders of Italy, and an end put to the war, in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio. Marcellus took the field with a small body of horse, and slew the king of the Gauls, Viridomarus, with his own hand. Afterwards, in conjunction with his colleague, he cut to pieces a numerous army of the Gauls, stormed Milan, and carried off a vast booty to Rome. Marcellus, at his triumph, bore the spoils of the Gaul, fixed upon a pole on his shoulders.

VII

In the consulate of Marcus Minucius Rufus and Publius Cornelius, war was made upon the Istrians, because they had plundered some ships of the Romans, which were bringing a supply of corn, and they were entirely subdued.

In the same year the second Punic war was commenced against the Romans by Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, who, in the twentieth year of his age, proceeded to besiege Saguntum, a city of Spain, in alliance with the Romans, having assembled for that purpose an army of fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The Romans warned him, by deputies sent for the purpose, to desist from hostilities, but he refused them audience. The Romans

sent also to Carthage, requiring that orders should be sent to Hannibal, not to make war on the allies of the Roman people; but the reply made by the Carthaginians promised no compliance. The Saguntines in the meantime, worn out with famine, were taken by Hannibal, and put to death with the utmost cruelty.

VIII

Publius Cornelius Scipio then went with an army into Spain, and Tiberius Sempronius into Sicily. War was declared against the Carthaginians. Hannibal, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, passed the Pyrenees, and made a way over the Alps, which, in that part, were previously impassable. He is said to have brought into Italy eighty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. Numbers of the Ligurians and Gauls joined him on his march. Sempronius Gracchus, hearing of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, conveyed over his army from Sicily to Ariminum.

IX

The first to meet Hannibal was Publius Cornelius Scipio; a battle being commenced, and his troops put to flight, he retired wounded into his camp. Sempronius Gracchus also came to an engagement with him near the river Trebia, and he too was defeated. Numbers in Italy submitted to Hannibal; who, marching from thence into Tuscany, encountered the consul Flaminius. Flaminius himself he cut off; and twenty-five thousand of the Romans were slain; the rest saved themselves by flight. Quintus Fabius Maximus was afterwards sent by the Romans to oppose Hannibal. This general, by avoiding an engagement, checked his impetuosity; and soon after, finding a favourable opportunity, defeated him.

X

In the five hundred and fortieth year from the foundation of the city, Lucius Aemilius and Publius Terentius Varro were sent against Hannibal, and took the place of Fabius, who forewarned both the consuls, that they could conquer Hannibal, who was a bold and energetic leader, only by declining a pitched battle with him. But an engagement being brought on, through the impetuosity

of the consul Varro, in opposition to his colleague, near a village called Cannae, in Apulia, both the consuls were defeated by Hannibal. In this battle three thousand of the Africans fell, and a great part of Hannibal's army were wounded. The Romans, however, never received so severe a blow at any period of the Punic wars; for the consul Aemilius Paulus was killed; twenty officers of consular and praetorian rank, thirty senators, and three hundred others of noble descent, were taken or slain, as well as forty thousand foot-soldiers, and three thousand five hundred horse. During all these calamities, however, not one of the Romans deigned to speak of peace. A number of slaves were set free and made soldiers, a measure never before adopted.

XI

After this battle, several cities of Italy, which had been subject to the Romans, went over to Hannibal. Hannibal made proposals to the Romans concerning the redemption of the prisoners, but the senate replied, that "such citizens as would suffer themselves to be taken with arms in their hands were of no value to them." Hannibal then put them all to death with various tortures, and sent three modii of gold rings to Carthage, which he had taken from the fingers of Roman knights, senators, and soldiers. In the meantime, Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, who had remained in Spain with a numerous army, in order to reduce all that country under the dominion of the Africans, was defeated there by the two Scipios, the Roman generals, and lost thirty-five thousand men in the battle; of these ten thousand were made prisoners, and twenty-five thousand slain. Upon this, twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and twenty elephants were sent to him by the Carthaginians to reinforce his army.

XII

In the fourth year after Hannibal's arrival in Italy, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, one of the consuls, engaged him with success at Nola, a city of Campania. But Hannibal possessed himself of several of the Roman cities in Apulia, Calabria, and the country of the Bruttii. About this time also Philip, king of Macedonia, sent ambassadors to him, offering him assistance against the Romans, on condition that, when he had subdued them, he, in turn, should receive assistance from Hannibal against the Greeks. But Philip's

ambassadors being taken, and the affair thus discovered, the Romans ordered Marcus Valerius Laevinus to proceed to Macedonia, and Titus Manlius, as proconsul, into Sardinia; for that island also, at the solicitation of Hannibal, had revolted from the Romans.

XIII

Thus war was carried on at the same time in four different places; in Italy, against Hannibal; in Spain, against Hasdrubal his brother; in Macedonia, against Philip; in Sardinia, against the Sardinians and another Hasdrubal, also a Carthaginian. Hasdrubal was taken alive by Titus Manlius the proconsul, who had been sent into Sardinia; twelve thousand of his men were slain, fifteen hundred made prisoners, and Sardinia brought under subjection to the Romans. Manlius, being thus successful, brought Hasdrubal and his other prisoners to Rome. In the meantime, Philip also was defeated by Laevinus in Macedonia, and Hasdrubal and Mago, a third brother of Hannibal, by the Scipios in Spain.

XIV

In the tenth year after Hannibal's arrival in Italy, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Cnaeus Fulvius, Hannibal advanced within four miles of Rome, and his cavalry rode up to the very gates; but soon after, through fear of the consuls, who were coming upon him with an army, he withdrew into Campania. In Spain, the two Scipios, who had been victorious for many years, were killed by his brother Hasdrubal; the army however remained in full strength, for the generals had been ensnared rather by accident than the valour of the enemy. About this time, also, a great part of Sicily, which the Africans had begun to appropriate, was recovered by the consul Marcellus, and vast spoil brought to Rome from the celebrated city of Syracuse. In Macedonia, Laevinus made an alliance with Philip, and several of the Grecian states, as well as with Attalus, king of Asia; and, proceeding afterwards to Sicily, took Hanno, a general of the Carthaginians, at the city of Agrigentum, together with the town itself, and sent him with other noble prisoners to Rome. Forty cities he obliged to surrender; twenty-six he carried by storm. Thus all Sicily being recovered, and Macedonia humbled, he returned with great glory to Rome. In Italy, Hannibal, attacking Cnaeus Fulvius, one of the consuls, by

surprise, cut him off, together with eight thousand of his men.

XV

In the meantime, Publius Cornelius Scipio, a man almost the very first of all the Romans, both in his own and succeeding ages, son of that Publius Scipio who had carried on the war there before, was despatched, at the age of twenty-four, into Spain, where, after the death of the two Scipios, no Roman general was now left. He took Carthage, in Spain, in which the Africans kept all their gold, and silver, and warlike stores; he took also a number of hostages, whom the Carthaginians had received from the Spaniards, as well as Mago, the brother of Hannibal, whom he sent with others to Rome. The rejoicing at Rome on this intelligence was very great. Scipio restored the Spanish hostages to their parents; and in consequence almost all the Spaniards unanimously joined him. Soon after, he put to flight Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and took a great quantity of spoil.

XVI

In Italy, meanwhile, Quintus Fabius Maximus, one of the consuls, recovered Tarentum, where a great body of Hannibal's troops were quartered, and cut off there also Carthalo, one of Hannibal's generals; twenty-five thousand of the prisoners he sold for slaves; the spoil he divided among the soldiers; and the money arising from the sale of the prisoners, he paid into the public treasury. At this time, several of the Roman cities, which had gone over to Hannibal, submitted themselves again to Fabius Maximus.

In the following year Scipio performed extraordinary exploits in Spain, and, by his own exertions and those of his brother Lucius Scipio, recovered seventy cities. In Italy, however, the war went on unsuccessfully, for Claudius Marcellus the consul was cut off by Hannibal.

XVII

In the third year after Scipio's departure for Spain, he again greatly distinguished himself. A king of Spain, whom he had conquered in a great battle, he received into alliance; and was the first that refrained from demanding hostages of a vanquished enemy.

XVIII

Hannibal, having no hope that Spain could be held longer against Scipio, summoned from it Hasdrubal his brother, with all his troops, to join him in Italy. Hasdrubal, pursuing the same route by which Hannibal had gone, fell into an ambush laid for him by the consuls Appius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator, near Sena, a city of Picenum, but fell fighting valiantly; his numerous forces were either taken or put to the sword; and a great quantity of gold and silver carried off to Rome. Hannibal now began to despair of the issue of the war, and an accession of courage was felt by the Romans. They, therefore, also recalled Publius Cornelius Scipio out of Spain; who arrived at Rome with great glory.

XIX

In the consulate of Quintus Caecilius and Lucius Valerius, all the cities in the territory of the Bruttii, which were in the possession of Hannibal, surrendered to the Romans.

XX

In the fourteenth year after Hannibal's invasion of Italy, Scipio, who had achieved such successes in Spain, was created consul, and sent into Africa; a man in whom there was thought to be something divine, so that he was even imagined to hold converse with the gods. He encountered Hanno, the general of the Carthaginians in Africa, and destroyed his army. In a second battle he took his camp, with four thousand five hundred of his soldiers, eleven thousand being killed. Syphax, king of Numidia, who had joined the Africans, he took prisoner, and became master of his camp. Syphax himself, with the noblest of the Numidians, and a vast quantity of spoil, was sent by Scipio to Rome; on the news of which event, almost all Italy forsook Hannibal, who was desired by the Carthaginians to return to Africa, which Scipio was now laying waste.

XXI

Thus, in the seventeenth year after his arrival, Italy was delivered from Hannibal, and he is said to have quitted it with tears. Ambassadors from the

Carthaginians applied to Scipio for peace, by whom they were sent to the senate, a truce of forty-five days being allowed for their journey to and from Rome; thirty thousand pounds of silver were accepted from them. The senate directed that a peace should be concluded with the Carthaginians at the discretion of Scipio. Scipio granted it on these conditions: “that they should retain, no more than thirty ships, that they should pay to the Romans five hundred thousand pounds of silver, and restore all the prisoners and deserters.”

XXII

Hannibal in the meantime landing in Africa, the treaty was interrupted. Many hostilities were committed by the Carthaginians; yet when their ambassadors, as they were returning from Rome, were made prisoners by some Roman troops, they were by Scipio’s orders set at liberty. Hannibal too, being defeated by Scipio in several battles,² expressed also himself a desire for peace. A conference being held, peace was offered on the same terms as before, only a hundred thousand pounds of silver were added to the former five hundred thousand, on account of their late perfidy.³ The terms were, unsatisfactory to the Carthaginians, and they ordered Hannibal to continue the war.

The war was carried by Scipio, and Masinissa, another king of the Numidians, who had made an alliance with Scipio, to the very walls of Carthage. Hannibal sent three spies into Scipio’s camp, who were captured, and Scipio ordered them to be led round the camp, the whole army to be shown them, and themselves to be entertained and dismissed, that they might report to Hannibal all that they had seen among the Romans.

XXIII

In the meantime preparations were made by both generals for a battle, such as scarce ever occurred in any age, since they were the ablest commanders that ever led forces into the field. Scipio came off victorious, having almost captured Hannibal himself, who escaped at first with several horse, then with twenty, and at last with only four. There were found in Hannibal’s camp twenty thousand pounds of silver, and eight hundred of gold, with plenty of stores. After this battle, peace was concluded with the Carthaginians. Scipio

returned to Rome, and triumphed with the greatest glory, receiving from that period the appellation of Africanus. Thus the second Punic war was brought to an end in the nineteenth year after it began.

ENDNOTES.

¹ See note on Corn. Nep. Life of Atticus, c. 2. [Which says, *inter alia*, that the *modius* was 1 gallon 7.8576 pints English — RP]

² *Frequentibus praeliis*. Livy does not seem to think that any battle took place before the conference; he, however, mentions that Valerius Antias speaks of one having occurred before it, b. xxx. 29.

³ *Propter novam perfidiam*. Eutropius, at the beginning of the chapter, speaks of “many hostilities” having been committed by the Carthaginians. “Before the arrival of Hannibal, and while their ambassadors were on their way from Rome, the Carthaginians had plundered a convoy of Scipio’s driven into their harbour by stress of weather, and had ill-treated some deputies whom Scipio had sent to Carthage to complain of their conduct. See Polyb. xv. 1; Liv xxx. 24.; Appian. de Reb. Pun. c, 34.” — -Tzschucke.

BOOK IV

War with Philip, king of Macedonia, I. II. — War with Antiochus, king of Syria, III. IV. — Triumph of Fulvius over the Aetolians; death of Hannibal, V. — War with Perseus, king of Macedonia, and with Gentius, king of Illyria, VI. — VIII. — Successes of Mummius in Spain, IX. — Third Punic war, and destruction of Carthage, X. — XII. — War in Macedonia with Pseudo Philip, XIII. — The Achaean war, and destruction of Corinth, XIV. — War in Macedonia with Pseudo Perseus, XV. — War in Spain with Viriatus, XVI. — Numantine war ended by Scipio, XVII. — Attains bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman people, XVIII. — Triumphs of Junius Brutus and Scipio, XIX. — War in Asia with Aristonicus, XX. — Carthage becomes a Roman colony, XXI. — War with the Transalpine Gauls, and Bituitus, king of the Arverni, XXII. — A colony settled at Narbonne; a triumph over Dalmatia, XXIII. — Unsuccessful war with the Scordisci, XXIV. — Triumphs over Sardinia and Thrace, XXV. — War with Jugurtha, XXVI. XXVII.

I

After the Punic was terminated, the Macedonian war, against King Philip, succeeded.

II

In the five hundred and fifty-first year from the building of the city, Titus Quintius Flamininus was sent against King Philip. He was successful in his undertaking; and peace was granted to Philip on these conditions, that “he should not make war on those states of Greece which the Romans had defended against him; that he should restore the prisoners and deserters; that he should retain only fifty vessels, and deliver up the rest to the Romans; that he should pay, for ten years, a tribute of four thousand pounds weight of silver; and give his own son Demetrius as a hostage.” Titus Quintius made war also on the Lacedaemonians; defeated their general Nabis, and admitted them into alliance on such terms as he thought proper. He led with great pride before his chariot hostages of most noble rank, Demetrius the son of Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis.

III

The Macedonian war being thus terminated, the Syrian war, against King Antiochus, succeeded, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Manius Acilius Glabrio, To this Antiochus Hannibal had joined himself,

abandoning his native country, Carthage, to escape being delivered up to the Romans. Manius Acilius Glabrio fought successfully in Achaia. The camp of King Antiochus was taken by an attack in the night, and he himself obliged to flee. To Philip his son Demetrius was restored, for having assisted the Romans in their contest with Antiochus.

IV

In the consulate of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Laelius, Scipio Africanus went out as lieutenant to his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the consul, against Antiochus. Hannibal, who was with Antiochus, was defeated in a battle by sea. Antiochus himself was afterwards routed by Cornelius Scipio, the consul, in a great battle at Magnesia, a city of Asia, near mount Sipylus. Eumenes, who founded the city of Eumenia in Phrygia, the brother of king Attalus, assisted the Romans in that engagement. Fifty thousand foot, and three thousand horse were killed in that battle on the side of the king. In consequence, King Antiochus sued for peace, which was granted to him, though vanquished, by the senate, on the same conditions as it had been offered before: “that he should withdraw from Europe and Asia, and confine himself within mount Taurus; that he should pay ten thousand talents, and give twenty hostages, and surrender Hannibal, the author of the war.” All the cities of Asia, which Antiochus had lost in this war, were given to Eumenes; many cities also were granted to the Rhodians, who had assisted the Romans against Antiochus. Scipio returned to Rome, and celebrated his triumph with great pomp; and he also, after the example of his brother, received the name of Asiaticus, from his conquest of Asia; as his brother, from the subjugation of Africa, had been surnamed Africanus.

V

Under the consuls Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus,¹ Marcus Fulvius triumphed for conquering the Aetolians. Hannibal, who, on the defeat of Antiochus, had fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia, that he might not be surrendered to the Romans, was demanded also at his hands by Titus Quintius Flamininus; and, as he seemed likely to be surrendered, he drank poison, and was buried at Libyssa, in the territory of the Nicomedians.

On the death of Philip, king of Macedonia, who had both waged war with the Romans, and afterwards given aid to the Romans against Antiochus, his son Perseus took up arms again in Macedonia, having levied great forces for the war, and having as allies Cotys, king of Thrace, and the king of Illyricum, whose name was Gentius. On the side of the Romans were Eumenes, king of Asia, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Masinissa of Numidia. Prusias, the king of Bithynia, although he had married the sister of Perseus, remained neutral. The general of the Romans, the consul Publius Licinius, was defeated by Perseus in a severe engagement; yet the Romans, although vanquished, refused peace to the king when he solicited it, except on condition that he should surrender himself and his people to the senate and the people of Rome. The consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus was afterwards sent against him, and the praetor Caius Anicius into Illyricum against Gentius: but Gentius, being defeated with ease in a single battle, soon surrendered; and his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his brother, fell at the same time into the power of the Romans. Thus the war was terminated within thirty days, and the news of Gentius's defeat arrived before it was announced that the war had been begun.

VII

The consul Aemilius Paulus came to a battle with Perseus on the 3rd of September, and defeated him, killing twenty thousand of his infantry; the cavalry which remained with the king was unbroken; on the side of the Romans only a hundred men were missing. All the cities of Macedonia, that Perseus had under his sway, submitted to the Romans. The king himself, deserted by his friends, fell into the hands of Paulus; but Paulus treated him with respect, and not as a vanquished enemy, for, when he desired to prostrate himself at his feet, he would not permit him, but placed him in a seat by his side. The terms granted to the Macedonians and Illyrians were these, "that they might remain free, on paying half the tribute which they had been accustomed to pay to their kings;" that it might be seen that the Roman people contended with a view to equity and not to covetousness: and these terms Paulus proclaimed in an assembly of a vast concourse of people, entertaining

the ambassadors of several states, who had come to pay their respects to him, with a most sumptuous feast; saying that “it ought to be possible for the same individual to be victorious in war and elegant in his entertainments.”

VIII

Shortly after he took seventy cities of Epirus, which had resumed hostilities; the booty he distributed among his soldiers. He then returned to Rome with great display, in a vessel belonging to Perseus, which is recorded to have been of such extraordinary magnitude, that it contained sixteen banks of oars. He celebrated his triumph most magnificently in a golden car, with his two sons standing on each side of him; the two sons of Perseus, and Perseus himself, then forty-five years of age, were led in procession before the car. After Aemilius, Caius Anicius also celebrated a triumph on account of the Illyrians; in which Gentius, with his brother and sons, were led before his car. To witness this spectacle the kings of several nations came to Rome; among others, even Attains and Eumenes, kings of Asia, and Prusias, king of Bithynia; who were entertained with great consideration, and, by permission of the senate, deposited the presents which they had brought in the Capitol. Prusias also entrusted his son Nicomedes to the senate.

IX

In the year following Lucius Memmius was successful in the war in Spain. Marcellus the consul afterwards met with success in the same country.

X

A third war was then undertaken against Carthage, in the six hundred and second² 17 year from the building of the city, in the consulship of Lucius Manlius Censorinus and Marcus Manilius, and in the fifty-first year after the termination of the second Punic war. The consuls in consequence proceeded to attack Carthage. Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, engaged them; Phamea, another general, had the command of the Carthaginian cavalry. At that time, Scipio, the grandson of Scipio Africanus, served in the army in the capacity of tribune, for whom great fear and respect was felt by all; for he was regarded as eminently brave and skilful in the field. Many enterprises were

accordingly conducted with success by his agency; nor did Hasdrubal or Phamea shrink from anything more than engaging with that part of the army in which Scipio commanded.

XI

About the same time, Masinissa, king of Numidia, who had been an ally of the Roman people for nearly sixty years, died in the ninety-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him forty-four sons. He appointed Scipio to divide his kingdom amongst his sons

XII

As the name of Scipio had already become famous, he was created consul, although but a young man, and sent against Carthage. He took it and demolished it: the spoils found there, which had been amassed by Carthage from the ruins of various cities, and the ornaments of towns, he restored to such cities of Sicily, Italy, and Africa, as recognized their own. Thus Carthage, in the seven hundredth year after its foundation, was destroyed. Scipio earned the same title which his grandfather had gained, being, on account of his valour, called Africanus Junior.

XIII

In the meantime a certain Pseudo-Philip took up arms in Macedonia, and defeated Publius Juvencius, a Roman praetor, who had been sent out against him, with a terrible slaughter. After him Quintus Caecilius Metellus was sent by the Romans as general against this pretended Philip, and, having slain twenty-five thousand of his soldiers, recovered Macedonia, and took the impostor himself prisoner,

XIV

War was also declared against Corinth, the noblest city of Greece, on account of an affront offered to a Roman embassy. That city Mummius the consul took and demolished. Three most remarkable triumphs therefore were celebrated at Rome at the same time, that of Scipio for Africa, before whose chariot Hasdrubal was led; that of Metellus for Macedonia, before whose chariot

walked Andronicus, also called Pseudo-Philip; and that of Mummius for Corinth, before whom brazen statues, pictures, and other ornaments of that celebrated city, were carried.

XV

In Macedonia, meanwhile, a Pseudo-Perseus, who called himself the son of Perseus, collecting the slaves, took up arms, and, when he was at the head of a force of seventeen thousand fighting men, was defeated by Tremellius the quaestor. [At this time a hermaphrodite was discovered at Rome, and drowned in the sea by order of the soothsayers.]³

XVI

About the same time Metellus had singular success against the Spaniards in Celtiberia. Quintus Pompeius succeeded him. Not long after Quintus Caepio was also sent to the same war, which a leader named Viriathus was still keeping up against the Romans in Lusitania; through fear of whom Viriathus was killed by his own men. after he had kept Spain in a state of excitement against the Romans for fourteen years. He was at first a shepherd, then captain of a band of robbers, and at last he stirred up so many powerful nations to war, that he was considered as the protector of Spain against the Romans. When his assassins asked a reward of the consul Caepio, they received for answer, that “it was never pleasing to the Romans, that a general should be killed by his own soldiers.”

XVII

The consul Quintus Pompeius being afterwards defeated by the Numantines, the most powerful nation of Spain, made an ignominious peace with them. After him. the consul Caius Hostilius Mancinus again concluded a dishonourable peace with the Numantines, which the people and senate ordered to be annulled, and Mancinus himself to be given up to the enemy, that they might avenge themselves for the dissolution of the treaty on him with whom they had made it.⁴ After such signal disgrace, therefore, with which the Roman armies had been twice defeated by the Numantines, Publius Scipio Africanus was made consul a second time, and sent to Numantia. He

reformed, in the first place, the dissolute and idle soldiery, rather by inuring them to labour than by punishment, and without any great severity. He then took several cities of Spain, some by force, and allowing others to surrender. At last he reduced Numantia itself by famine, after it had been long besieged, and razed it to the ground, and received the rest of the province into alliance.

XVIII

About this time Attalus, king of Asia, the brother of Eumenes, died, and left the Roman people his heir. Thus Asia was added to the Roman empire by will.

XIX

Shortly after, also, Decimus Junius Brutus triumphed with great glory over the Gallaecians and Lusitanians; and Publius Scipio Africanus had a second triumph over the Numantines. in the fourteenth year after his first triumph for his exploits in Africa.

XX

A war in the meantime was kindled in Asia by Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes by a concubine: this Eumenes was the brother of Attalus. Against him was sent out Publius Licinius Crassus, who had ample assistance from several kings, for not only Nicomedes, the king of Bithynia, supported the Romans, but also Mithridates king of Pontus, with whom they had afterwards a very great war, as well as Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and Pylaemenes of Paphlagonia. Crassus notwithstanding was defeated, and killed in battle; his head was carried to Aristonicus, and his body buried at Smyrna. Soon after Perperna, the Roman consul, who was appointed successor to Crassus, hearing of the event of the war, hastened to Asia; and defeating Aristonicus in battle, near the city Stratonice to which he had fled, reduced him by famine to surrender. Aristonicus, by command of the senate, was strangled in prison at Rome; for a triumph could not be celebrated on his account, because Perperna had died at Pergamus on his return.

XXI

In the consulate of Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Titus Quintius Flamininus, Carthage in Africa, which still exists, was rebuilt by order of the senate, two and twenty years after it had been destroyed by Scipio. A colony of Roman citizens was sent out thither.

XXII

In the six hundred and twenty-seventh year from the founding of the city, Caius Cassius Longinus and Sextus Domitius Calvinus, the consuls, made war upon the Trans alpine Gauls, and the city of the Arverni, at that time very distinguished, and their king, Bituitus; and slew a vast number of men near the river Rhone. A great booty, consisting of the golden collars of the Gauls, was brought to Rome. Bituitus surrendered himself to Domitius, and was conveyed by him to Rome; and both consuls triumphed with great glory.

XXIII

In the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato and Quintus Marcius Rex, in the six hundred and thirty-third year from the building of the city, a colony was led out to Narbonne in Gaul. Afterwards a triumph was obtained over Dalmatia by the consuls Lucius Metellus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola.

XXIV

In the six hundred and thirty-fifth year from the building of the city, the consul Caius Cato made war upon the Scordisci, and fought with them to his dishonour.

XXV

When Caius Caecilius Metellus and Cnaeus Carbo were consuls, the Metelli, two brothers, had triumphs on the same day, one for Sardinia, the other for Thrace; and news was brought to Rome, that the Cimbri had crossed from Gaul into Italy.

XXVI

In the consulship of Publius Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, war was made upon Jugurtha, king of Numidia, because he had murdered

Adherbal and Hiempsal, the sons of Micipsa, his cousins, princes, and allies of the Roman people. The consul Calpurnius Bestia being sent against him, was corrupted by the king's money, and concluded a most ignominious treaty of peace with him, which was afterwards repudiated by the senate. Spurius Albinus Postumius proceeded against him in the following year: he also, through the agency of his brother, fought against the Numidians to his disgrace.

XXVII

In the third place, the consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus being sent out against him, brought back the army, which he reformed with great severity and judgment, without exercising cruelty on any one, to the ancient Roman discipline. He defeated Jugurtha in various battles, killed or captured his elephants, and obliged many of his towns to surrender; and, when on the point of putting an end to the war, was succeeded by Caius Marius. Marius overthrew both Jugurtha and Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, who had undertaken to afford assistance to Jugurtha; he also took several towns in Numidia, and put an end to the war, having, through the instrumentality of his quaestor Cornelius Sulla, a distinguished man, taken Jugurtha prisoner, whom Bocchus, who had before fought for him, betrayed.

In Gaul, the Cimbri were defeated by Marcus Junius Silanus, the colleague of Quintus Metellus, the Scordisci and Triballi in Macedonia by Minutius Rufus, and the Lusitani in Spain by Servilius Caepio; and two triumphs were celebrated on account of Jugurtha; the first by Metellus, the second by Marius. It was before the chariot of Marius, however, that Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led in chains; and he was soon after, by order of the consul, strangled in prison.

ENDNOTES.

¹ 186 BC.

² *Altero*. The Greek translator gives ε9νι, in which signification he seems to have taken *altero*; as also in i. 18. On this point the learned are constantly disputing, and especially on the 49th epitome of Livy, where Duker does not decide whether *alter* signifies first or second. — Tzschucke. I consider that *alter*, used as in this passage, and as in i. 18, always signifies second. In such phrases as *alter ab undecimo*, Virg Ecl. viii. 39, it of course has a different signification.

³ The sentence in brackets is not found in all manuscripts; nor is it acknowledged by the Greek translator. Verheyk, Cellarius, and Tzschucke omit it. “Some say that this hermaphrodite was born in the following year, and that a great pestilence ensued.” — Madame Dacier. See Livy, xxvii. 11, 37; xxxi. 12.

⁴ See Florus, ii. 18; Vell. Pat. ii 1, 90, Bohn’s Cl. Library.

BOOK V

The war with the Cimbri, Teutones, and their allies, I. II. — The Social war, III. — The Civil war between Marius and Sulla, IV. — The Mithridatic war; the Thracian; continuation and conclusion of the Civil war, V. — IX.

I

While the war was going on in Numidia against Jugurtha, the Roman consuls, Marcus Manlius and Quintus Caepio, were defeated¹ by the Cimbri, Teutones, Tigurini, and Ambrones, nations of Germany and Gaul, near the river Rhone; and, being reduced by a terrible slaughter, lost their very camp, as well as the greater part of their army. Great was the consternation at Rome, such as was scarcely experienced during the Punic wars in the time of Hannibal, from dread that the Gauls might again march to the city. Marius, in consequence, after his victory over Jugurtha, was created consul the second time,² and the war against the Cimbri and Teutones was committed to his management. The consulship was also conferred on him a third³ and fourth time,⁴ in consequence of the war with the Cimbri being protracted; but in his fourth consulship he had for his colleague Quintus Lutatius Catulus. He came to battle, accordingly,⁵ with the Cimbri, and in two engagements killed two hundred thousand of the enemy, and took eighty thousand prisoners, with their general Teutobodus;⁶ for which service he was elected consul a fifth time during his absence.⁷

II

In the meantime the Cimbri and Teutones, whose force was still innumerable, passed over into Italy. Another battle was fought with them, by Caius Marius and Quintus Catulus, though with greater success on the part of Catulus, for in that battle, in which they both commanded, a hundred and forty thousand were either slain in the field or in the pursuit, and sixty thousand taken prisoners. Of the Roman soldiers in the two armies three hundred fell. Thirty-three standards were taken from the Cimbri; of which the army of Marius captured two, that of Catulus thirty-one.⁸ This was the end of the war: a triumph was decreed to both the consuls.

III

In the consulship of Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Marcius Philippus, in the six hundred and fifty-ninth year from the building of the city,⁹ when almost all other wars were at an end, the Piceni, Marsi, and Peligni, excited a most dangerous war in Italy;¹⁰ for after they had lived for many years in subjection to the Roman people, they now began to assert their claim to equal privileges. This was a very destructive war. Publius Rutilius, one of the consuls, Caepio, a nobleman in the flower of his age, and Porcius Cato, another consul, were killed in it. The generals against the Romans on the part of the Piceni and Marsi were Titus Vettius, Hierius Asinius, Titus Herennius, and Aulus Cluentius. The Romans fought against them successfully under the conduct of Caius Marius, who had now been made consul for the sixth time, also under Cnaeus Pompey, but particularly under Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who, among other signal exploits, so completely routed Cluentius, one of the enemy's generals, with his numerous forces, that he lost only one man of his own army. The war, however, was protracted for four years, with great havoc; at length, in the fifth, it was terminated by Lucius Cornelius Sulla when consul, who had greatly distinguished himself on many occasions when praetor in the same war.

IV

In the six hundred and sixty-second year from the foundation of the city,¹¹ the first civil war began at Rome; and in the same year also the Mithridatic war. Marius, when in his sixth consulship, gave rise to the Civil war; for when Sulla, the consul, was sent to conduct the war against Mithridates, who had possessed himself of Asia and Achaia, and delayed his army for a short time in Campania, in order that the remains of the Social war, of which we have just spoken, and which had been carried on within the limits of Italy, might be extinguished, Marius showed himself ambitious to be appointed to the Mithridatic war. Sulla, being incensed at this conduct, marched to Rome with his army. There he fought with Marius and Sulpicius; he was the first to enter the city in arms; Sulpicius he killed; Marius he put to flight; and then, having appointed Cnaeus Octavius and Lucius Cornelius Cinna the consuls for the year ensuing, set out for Asia.

V

For Mithridates, who was king of Pontus, and possessed Armenia Minor and the entire circuit of the Pontic sea with the Bosphorus, first attempted to expel Nicomedes, an ally of the Romans, from Bithynia; sending word to the senate, that he was going to make war upon him on account of the injuries which he had received. Answer was returned by the senate to Mithridates, that if he did so he himself should feel the weight of a war from the Romans. Incensed at this reply, he immediately invaded Cappadocia, and expelled from thence Ariobarzanes the king, an ally of the Roman people. He next marched into Bithynia and Paphlagonia, driving out the kings, Pylaemenes and Nicomedes, who were also in alliance with the Romans. He then hastened to Ephesus, and sent letters into all parts of Asia, with directions that wherever any Roman citizens should be found, they should all be put to death the same day.

VI

In the meantime Athens also, a city of Achaia, was delivered up to Mithridates by Aristion an Athenian. For Mithridates had previously sent Archelaus, his general, into Achaia, with a hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot, by whom the rest of Greece was also occupied. Sulla besieged Archelaus at the Piraeus near Athens, and took the city itself. Engaging afterwards in battle with Archelaus, he gave him such a defeat, that out of a hundred and twenty thousand of the army of Archelaus scarce ten remained; while of that of Sulla only fourteen were killed. Mithridates, on receiving intelligence of this battle, sent seventy thousand chosen troops out of Asia to Archelaus, with whom Sulla came again to an engagement. In the first battle twenty thousand of the enemy were slain, and Diogenes, the son of Archelaus; in the second the entire forces of Mithridates were cut off. Archelaus himself lay hid for three days, stripped of his armour, in the marshes. On the news of this state of things, Mithridates sent orders to treat with Sulla concerning peace.

VII

In the meantime Sulla also reduced part of the Dardanians, Scordisci, Dalmatians, and Maedians, and granted terms of alliance to the rest. But when ambassadors arrived from King Mithridates to treat about peace, Sulla replied that he would grant it on no other condition than that he should quit the countries on which he had seized, and withdraw into his own dominions.

Afterwards, however, the two came to a conference, and peace was settled between them, in order that Sulla, who was in haste to proceed to the Civil war, might leave no danger in his rear; for while Sulla was victorious over Mithridates in Achaia and Asia, Marius, who had been driven from the city, and Cornelius Cinna, one of the consuls, had recommenced hostilities in Italy, and entering Rome, put to death the noblest of the senators and others of consular rank, proscribed many, and pulling down the house of Sulla himself, forced his sons and wife to seek safety by flight; while all the rest of the senate, hastily quitting the city, fled to Sulla in Greece, entreating him to come to the support of his country. He accordingly crossed over into Italy, to conduct the Civil war against the consuls Norbanus and Scipio. In the first battle he engaged with Norbanus not far from Capua, when he killed seven thousand of his men, and took six thousand prisoners, losing only a hundred and twenty-four of his own army. From thence he directed his efforts against Scipio, and before a battle was fought, or any blood shed, he received the surrender of his whole army.

VIII

But on a change of consuls at Rome, and the election of Marius, the son of Marius, and Papirius Carbo to the consulate, Sulla again came to battle with Marius the younger, and killed fifteen thousand men, with the loss of only four hundred. Immediately afterwards also he entered the city. He then pursued Marius, the younger, to Praeneste, besieged him there, and drove him even to self-destruction. He afterwards fought a terrible battle with Lamponius and Carinas, the leaders of the Marian faction, near the Colline gate. The number of the enemy in that battle against Sulla is said to have been seventy thousand; twelve thousand surrendered themselves to Sulla: the rest were cut off in the field, in the camp, or in the pursuit, by the insatiable resentment of the conqueror. Cnaeus Carbo also, the other consul, fled from Ariminum into Sicily, and was there slain by Cnaeus Pompey; to whom, although but a young man, being only one-and-twenty years of age, Sulla, perceiving his activity, had committed the management of his troops, so that he was accounted second only to Sulla himself.

IX

Carbo, then, being killed, Pompey recovered Sicily. Crossing next over into Africa, he put to death Domitius, a leader on the side of Marius, and Hiarbas the king of Mauritania, who had given assistance to Domitius. After these events, Sulla celebrated a triumph with great pomp for his success against Mithridates. Cnaeus Pompey also, while only in his twenty-fourth year, was allowed a triumph for his victories in Africa, a privilege which had been granted to no Roman before him. Such was the termination of two most lamentable wars, the Italian, also called the Social, and the Civil, which lasted for ten years, and occasioned the destruction of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men; twenty-four of consular rank, seven of praetorian, sixty of that of aedile, and nearly three hundred senators.

ENDNOTES.

¹ Battle of Arausio, 105 BC.

² 104 BC.

³ 103 BC.

⁴ 102 BC.

⁵ *Itaque*. Eutropius seems to intimate that it was because Marius had Catulus for his colleague that he proceeded to engage the Cimbri.

⁶ Battle of Aquae Sextiae.

⁷ 101 BC.

⁸ Battle of Vercellae, 101 BC.

⁹ 91 BC.

¹⁰ Social War (91–88 BC).

¹¹ 88 BC.

BOOK VI

War with Sertorius in Spain; wars in Macedonia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Dalmatia, I. — IV — -Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Romans his heirs; continuation of the war with Mithridates; wars with the slaves, pirates, and Macedonians, V. — XII. — Acts of Pompey against Tigranes, and in other parts of Asia, XIII. XIV. — Conspiracy of Catiline, XV. — Triumphs of Pompey and Metellus, XVI. — Wars of Caesar in Gaul, XVII. — Proceedings of Crassus in Parthia, XVIII. — Civil war between Caesar and Pompey, XIX. — XXV.

I

In the consulate of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Quintus Catulus,¹ after Sulla had composed the troubles of the state, new wars broke out; one in Spain, another in Pamphylia and Cilicia, a third in Macedonia, a fourth in Dalmatia. Sertorius, who had taken the side of Marius, dreading the fate of others who had been cut off, excited the Spaniards to a war. The generals sent against him were Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the son of that Metellus who had subdued Jugurtha, and the praetor Lucius Domitius. Domitius was killed by Hirtuleius, Sertorius's general. Metellus contended against Sertorius with various success. At length, as Metellus was thought singly unequal to the war, Cnaeus Pompey was sent into Spain. Thus, two generals being opposed to him, Sertorius often fought with very uncertain fortune. At last, in the eighth year of the war, he was put to death by his own soldiers, and an end made of the war by Cnaeus Pompey, at that time but a young man, and Quintus Metellus Pius; and nearly the whole of Spain was brought under the dominion of the Roman people.

II

Appius Claudius, on the expiration of his consulate was sent into Macedonia. He had some skirmishes with different tribes that inhabited the province of Rhodopa,² and there fell ill and died. Cnaeus Scribonius Curio, on the termination of his consulship, was sent to succeed him. He conquered the Dardanians, penetrated as far as the Danube, and obtained the honour of a triumph, putting an end to the war within three years.

III

Publius Servilius, an energetic man, was sent, after his consulate, into Cilicia

and Pamphilia. He reduced Cilicia, besieged and took the most eminent cities of Lycia, amongst them Phaselis, Olympus, and Corycus. The Isauri he also attacked, and compelled to surrender, and, within three years, put an end to the war. He was the first of the Romans that marched over Mount Taurus. On his return, he was granted a triumph, and acquired the surname of Isauricus.

IV

Cnaeus Cosconius was sent into Illyricum as proconsul. He reduced a great part of Dalmatia, took Salonae, and, having made an end of the war, returned to Rome after an absence of two years.

V

About the same time, the consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the colleague of Catulus, attempted to kindle a civil war; but in one summer that commotion was suppressed. Thus there were several triumphs at the same time, that of Metellus for Spain, a second for Spain obtained by Pompey, one of Curio for Macedonia, and one of Servilius for Isauria.

VI

In the six hundred and seventy-sixth year from the building of the city, in the consulate of Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta,³ Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, appointing by his will the Roman people his heir.

Mithridates, breaking the peace, again proceeded to invade Bithynia and Asia. Both the consuls being sent out against him, met with various success. Cotta, being defeated by him in a battle near Chalcedon, was even forced into the town, and besieged there. But Mithridates, having marched from thence to Cyzicus, that, after capturing that city, he might overrun all Asia, Lucullus, the other consul, met him; and, whilst Mithridates was detained at the siege of Cyzicus, besieged him in the rear, exhausted him with famine, defeated him in several battles, and at last pursued him to Byzantium, now called Constantinople. Lucullus also vanquished his commanders in a sea-fight. Thus, in a single winter and summer, almost a hundred thousand men on the king's side were cut off by Lucullus.

VII

In the six hundred and seventy-eighth year of Rome, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, the cousin of that Lucullus who had carried on the war against Mithridates, obtained the province of Macedonia. A new war, too, suddenly sprung up in Italy; for eighty-four gladiators, led by Spartacus, Crixus, and Oenomaus, having broken out of a school at Capua, made their escape; and, wandering over Italy, kindled a war in it, not much less serious than that which Hannibal had raised; for, after defeating several generals and two consuls of the Romans, they collected an army of nearly sixty thousand men. They were, however, defeated in Apulia by the proconsul Marcus Licinius Crassus; and, after much calamity to Italy, the war was terminated in its third year.

VIII

In the six hundred and eighty-first year from the founding of the city, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Cnaeus Aufidius Orestes,⁴ there were but two wars of any importance throughout the Roman empire, the Mithridatic and the Macedonian. Of these the two Luculli, Lucius and Marcus, had the direction. Lucius Lucullus, after the battle at Cyzicus, in which he had conquered Mithridates, and the sea-fight, in which he had overcome his generals, pursued him; and, recovering Paphlagonia and Bithynia, invaded his very kingdom. He took Sinope and Amisus, two most eminent cities of Pontus. In a second battle, near the city Cabira, where Mithridates had assembled a vast army from all parts of his kingdom, thirty thousand of the king's chosen troops were cut in pieces by five thousand of the Romans, and Mithridates was put to flight and his camp plundered. Armenia Minor, also, of which he had taken possession, was wrested from him. Mithridates was, however, received after his flight by Tigranes, the king of Armenia, who at that time reigned in great glory; for he had frequently defeated the Persians, and had made himself master of Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Phoenicia.

IX

Lucullus, therefore, still pursuing his routed enemy, entered even the kingdom

of Tigranes, who ruled over both the Armenias. Tigranocerta, the most noble city of Armenia, he succeeded in taking; the king himself, who advanced against him with six hundred thousand cuirassiers, and a hundred thousand archers and other troops, he so completely defeated with a force of only eighteen thousand, that he annihilated a great part of the Armenians. Marching from thence to Nisibis, he took that city also, and made the king's brother prisoner. But as those whom Lucullus had left in Pontus with part of the army in order to defend the conquered countries belonging to the Romans, grew negligent and avaricious in their conduct, they gave Mithridates an opportunity of again making an irruption into Pontus, and thus the war was renewed. While Lucullus, after the reduction of Nisibis, was preparing for an expedition against the Persians, a successor was sent out to take his place.

X

The other Lucullus, who had the management of affairs in Macedonia, was the first of the Romans that made war upon the Bessi, defeating them in a great battle on Mount Haemus; he reduced the town of Uscudama, which the Bessi inhabited, on the same day in which he attacked it; he also took Cabyle, and penetrated as far as the river Danube. He then besieged several cities lying above Pontus, where he destroyed Apollonia, Calatis, Parthenopolis, Tomi, Histros, and Burziaone,⁵ and, putting an end to the war, returned to Rome. Both the Luculli however triumphed, but the Lucullus, who had fought against Mithridates, with the greater glory, because he had returned victorious over such powerful nations.

XI

After the Macedonian war was ended, but while that with Mithridates still continued (which, on the departure of Lucullus, that king had renewed, collecting all his forces for the purpose), the Cretan war arose, and Caecilius Metellus being sent to conduct it, secured the whole province, by a succession of great battles, within three years, and received the appellation of Creticus, and a triumph on account of the island. About this time Libya also, by the will of Apion, the king of the country, was added to the Roman empire; in it were the celebrated cities, Berenice, Ptolemais, and Cyrene.

XII

During these transactions, pirates infested all the seas, so that navigation, and that alone, was unsafe to the Romans, who were now victorious throughout the world. The war against these pirates, therefore, was committed to Cnaeus Pompey, who, with surprising success and celerity, finished it in the course of a few months. Soon after, the war against Mithridates and Tigranes was entrusted to him; in the conduct of which, he overcame Mithridates in Armenia Minor in a battle by night, and plundered his camp, killing at the same time forty thousand of his troops, while he lost only twenty of his own men, and two centurions. Mithridates fled with his wife and two attendants; and not long after, in consequence of his cruelty to his own family, he was reduced, through a sedition excited among his soldiers by his son Pharnaces, to the necessity of putting an end to his existence, and swallowed poison. Such was the end of Mithridates, a man of singular energy and ability; his death happened near the Bosporus. He reigned sixty years, lived seventy-two, and maintained a war against the Romans for forty.

XIII

Pompey next made war upon Tigranes, who surrendered himself, coming to Pompey's camp at sixteen miles distance from Artaxata; and, throwing himself at his feet, placed in his hands his diadem, which Pompey returned to him, and treated him with great respect, but obliged him to give up part of his dominions and to pay a large sum of money: Syria, Phoenicia, and Sophene, were taken from him, and six thousand talents of silver, which he had to pay to the Roman people because he had raised a war against them without cause.

XIV

Pompey soon after made war also upon the Albani;⁶ and defeated their king Orodes three times; at length, being prevailed upon by letters and presents, he granted him pardon and peace. He also defeated Artoces, king of Iberia,⁷ in battle, and reduced him to surrender. Armenia Minor he conferred upon Deiotarus, the king of Galatia, because he had acted as his ally in the Mithridatic war. To Attalus and Pylaemenes he restored Paphlagonia; and appointed Aristarchus king of the Colchians. Shortly after he subdued the

Itureans and Arabians; and, on entering Syria, rewarded Seleucia, a city near Antioch, with independence, because it had not admitted King Tigranes. To the inhabitants of Antioch he restored their hostages. On those of Daphne, being charmed with the beauty of the spot and the abundance of water, he bestowed a portion of land, in order that their grove might be enlarged. Marching from thence to Judea, he took Jerusalem, the capital, in the third month; twelve thousand of the Jews being slain, and the rest allowed to surrender on terms. After these achievements, he returned into Asia, and put an end to this most tedious war.

XV

In the consulate of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, and Caius Antonius, in the six hundred and eighty-ninth year from the foundation of the city, Lucius Sergius Catiline, a man of very noble family, but of a most corrupt disposition, conspired to destroy his country, in conjunction with some other eminent but desperate characters. He was expelled from the city by Cicero; his accomplices were apprehended and strangled in prison; and he himself was defeated and killed in battle by Antonius, the other consul.

XVI

In the six hundred and ninetieth year from the building of the city, in the consulate of Decimus Junius Silanus and Lucius Muraena, Metellus triumphed on account of Crete, Pompey for the Piratic and Mithridatic wars. No triumphal procession was ever equal to this; the sons of Mithridates, the son of Tigranes, and Aristobulus, king of the Jews, were led before his car; a vast sum of money, an immense mass of gold and silver, was carried in front. At this time there was no war of any importance throughout the world.

XVII

In the six hundred and ninety-third year from the founding of the city, Caius Julius Caesar, who was afterwards emperor, was made consul with Lucius Bibulus; and Gaul and Illyricum, with ten legions, were decreed to him. He first subdued the Helvetii, who are now called Sequani;⁸ and afterwards, by conquering in most formidable wars, proceeded as far as the British ocean. In

about nine years he subdued all that part of Gaul which lies between the Alps, the river Rhone, the Rhine, and the Ocean, and extends in circumference nearly three thousand two hundred miles. He next made war upon the Britons, to whom not even the name of the Romans was known before his time; and having subdued them, and received hostages, sentenced them to pay a tribute. On Gaul, under the name of tribute, he imposed the yearly sum of forty thousand sester tia;⁹ and invading the Germans on the other side of the Rhine, defeated them in several most sanguinary engagements. Among so many successes, he met with three defeats, once in person among the Arverni, and twice in Germany during his absence; for two of his lieutenant-generals, Titurius and Aurunculeius, were cut off by ambuscades.

XVIII

About the same time, in the six hundred and ninety-seventh year from the foundation of the city, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Cnaeus Pompey the Great in his second consulship, was sent against the Parthians; and having engaged the enemy near Carrae, contrary to the omens and auspices, was defeated by Surena, the general of king Orodes, and at last killed, together with his son, a most noble and excellent young man. The remains of the army were saved by Caius Cassius the quaestor, who, with singular courage, so ably retrieved the ruined fortune of the Romans, that, in his retreat over the Euphrates, he defeated the Persians in several battles.

XIX

Soon after followed the Civil war, a war truly execrable and deplorable, in which, besides the havoc that occurred in the several battles, the fortune of the Roman people was changed.¹⁰ For Caesar, on returning victorious from Gaul, proceeded to demand another consulship, and in such a manner, that it was granted him without hesitation; yet opposition was made to it by Marcellus the consul, Bibulus, Pompey, and Cato, and he was in consequence ordered to disband his army and return to Rome; in revenge for which insult, he marched with his army from Ariminum, where he kept his forces assembled, against his country. The consuls, together with Pompey, the whole senate, and all the nobility, fled from the city, and crossed over into Greece; and in Epirus, Macedonia, and Achaia, the senate, under Pompey as their general,

prepared war against Caesar.

XX

Caesar, having marched into the deserted city, made himself dictator. Soon after he set out for Spain, where he defeated the armies of Pompey, which were very powerful and brave, with their three generals, Lucius Afranius, Marcus Petreius, and Marcus Varro. Returning from thence, he went over into Greece. He took the field against Pompey, but in the first battle was defeated and put to flight; he escaped, however, because Pompey declined to pursue him, as the night was coming on; when Caesar remarked, that Pompey knew not how to conquer, and that that was the only day on which he himself might have been vanquished. They next fought at Palaeopharsalus,¹¹ in Thessaly, leading great forces into the field on both sides. The army of Pompey consisted of forty thousand foot, six hundred horse on the left wing, and five hundred on the right, besides auxiliary troops from the whole east, and all the nobility, senators without number, men of praetorian and consular rank, and some who had already been conquerors of powerful nations. Caesar had not quite thirty thousand infantry in his army, and but one thousand horse.

XXI

Never before had a greater number of Roman forces assembled in one place, or under better generals, forces which would easily have subdued the whole world, had they been led against barbarians. They fought with great eagerness, but Pompey was at last overcome, and his camp plundered. Pompey himself, when put to flight, sought refuge at Alexandria, with the hope of receiving aid from the king of Egypt, to whom, on account of his youth, he had been appointed guardian by the senate; he, however, regarding fortune rather than friendship, caused Pompey to be killed, and sent his head and ring to Caesar; at sight of which even Caesar is said to have shed tears, as he viewed the head of so great a man, once his own son-in law.

XXII

Caesar soon after went to Alexandria. Ptolemy attempted to form a plot against his life also; for which reason war was made upon him, and, being

defeated, he perished in the Nile, and his body was found covered with a golden coat of mail. Caesar, having made himself master of Alexandria, conferred the kingdom on Cleopatra, the sister of Ptolemy, with whom he himself had an illicit connexion. On his return from thence, Caesar defeated in battle Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, who had assisted Pompey in Thessaly, taken up arms in Pontus, and seized upon several provinces of the Roman people; and at last drove him to self-destruction.

XXIII

Returning from thence to Rome, he created himself a third time consul with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had been his master of the horse when dictator the year before. Next he went into Africa, where a great number of the nobility, in conjunction with Juba, king of Mauritania, had resumed hostilities. The Roman leaders were Publius Cornelius Scipio, of the most ancient family of Scipio Africanus (who had also been the father-in-law of the great Pompey) Marcus Petreius, Quintus Varus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Lucius Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sulla the dictator. In a pitched battle fought against them, Caesar, after many struggles, was victorious. Cato, Scipio, Petreius, Juba, killed themselves; Faustus, Pompey's son-in-law, was slain by Caesar.

XXIV

On his return to Rome the year after, Caesar made himself a fourth time consul, and immediately proceeded to Spain, where the sons of Pompey, Cnaeus, and Sextus, had again raised a formidable war. Many engagements took place, the last near the city of Munda, in which Caesar was so nearly defeated, that, upon his forces giving way, he felt inclined to kill himself, lest, after such great glory in war, he should fall, at the age of fifty-six, into the hands of young men. At length, having rallied his troops, he gained the victory; the elder son of Pompey was slain, the younger fled.

XXV

The civil wars throughout the world being now terminated, Caesar returned to Rome, and began to conduct himself with too great arrogance, contrary to the

usages of Roman liberty. As he disposed, therefore, at his own pleasure, of those honours, which were before conferred by the people and did not even rise up when the senate approached him, and exercised regal, or almost tyrannical power, in other respects, a conspiracy was formed against him by sixty or more Roman senators and knights. The chief among the conspirators were the two Bruti, (of the family of that Brutus who had been made first consul of Rome, and who had expelled the kings) Caius Cassius, and Servilius Casca. Caesar, in consequence, having entered the senate house with the rest, on a certain day appointed for a meeting of the senate, was stabbed with three and twenty wounds.

ENDNOTES.

¹ 78 BC.

² Lying on the river Melas, above the Hellespont, near the Propontis. — Madame Dacier.

³ 74 BC.

⁴ 71 BC.

⁵ *Burziaonem*. Thus stands the word in the editions of Havercamp, Verheyk, and Tzschucke; but none of them think it right. Cellarius conjectured Bizonen, Bizon being mentioned by Strabo, lib. vii. as a city between Apollonia and Calatis; and no other critic has found anything better to offer.

⁶ See Justin, xlii. 3.

⁷ The Iberians are mentioned as a people bordering on the Albani by Plutarch, Lucull. c. 26, and by Florus, iii. 5.

⁸ *Qui nunc Sequani appellantur*. Between the Sequani and Helvetii was the lofty mount Jura, according to the description given of their position by Caesar, B. G. i. 2. If what Eutropius says is true, the change of name must have arisen from the intercourse of the two people. See Cellarius Geog. Ant. ii. 3, 50. — Tzschucke.

⁹ Something more than £320,000. [Note that H.W.Bird gives a figure of forty million sesterces — RP]

¹⁰ *Romani populi fortuna mutata est*. The fortune of the Roman people is their condition and state. The phrase *fortuna mutari*, or *immutari*, is used chiefly when the state of things is changed for the worse. See Call. Cat. c. 2; Jug. c. 17; Vell. Pat. ii. 57, 118. — Grunerus

¹¹ Generally called Pharsalus; but the name Palaeopharsalus, that is, Old Pharsalus, is used by Orosius, vi. 15, by Strabo, lib. xvii., and by the Greek translator of Eutropius.

BOOK VII

Wars that followed on the death of Julius Caesar, I. — Antony flees to Lepidus, and is reconciled to Octavianus; their triumvirate, II. — Proceedings and deaths of Brutus and Cassius; division of the empire between Antony and Octavianus, III. — War with Sextus Pompey, IV. — Successes of Agrippa in Aquitania; Ventidius Bassus conquers the Parthians, V. — Death of Sextus Pompey; marriage of Antony and Cleopatra; unsuccessful expedition of Antony into Parthia, VI. — War between Octavianus and Antony; deaths of Antony and Cleopatra; Egypt added to the Roman empire, VII. — Octavianus becomes sole ruler under the name of Augustus, VIII. — His wars and victories, IX. X. — Character and acts of Tiberius, XI. — Of Caligula, XII. — Of Claudius, who subjugates Britain, XIII. — Of Nero, under whom two new provinces are made, Pontus Polemoniachus and Alpes Cottiae, XIV. XV. — Of Galba, XVI. — Of Otho, XVII. — Of Vitellius, XVIII. — Of Vespasian, under whom Judaea was added to the Roman dominions, with the provinces Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Samos, Thracia, Cilicia, Comagena, XIX. XX. — Of Titus, XXI. XXII. — Of Domitian, XXIII.

I

After the assassination of Caesar, in about the seven hundred and ninth year of the city, the civil wars were renewed; for the senate favoured the assassins of Caesar; and Antony, the consul, being of Caesar's party, endeavoured to crush them in a civil war. The state therefore being thrown into confusion, Antony, perpetrating many acts of violence, was declared an enemy by the senate. The two consuls, Pansa and Hirtius, were sent in pursuit of him, together with Octavianus, a youth of eighteen years of age, the nephew of Caesar, ¹whom by his will he had appointed his heir, directing him to bear his name; this is the same who was afterwards called Augustus, and obtained the imperial dignity. These three generals therefore marching against Antony, defeated him. It happened, however, that the two victorious consuls lost their lives; and the three armies in consequence became subject to Caesar only.

II

Antony, being routed, and having lost his army, fled to Lepidus, who had been master of the horse to Caesar, and was at that time in possession of a strong body of forces, by whom he was well received. By the mediation of Lepidus, Caesar shortly after made peace with Antony, and, as if with intent to avenge the death of his father, by whom he had been adopted in his will, marched to Rome at the head of an army, and forcibly procured his appointment to the

consulship in his twentieth year. In conjunction with Antony and Lepidus he proscribed the senate, and proceeded to make himself master of the state by arms. By their acts, Cicero the orator, and many others of the nobility, were put to death.

III

In the meantime Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of Caesar, raised a great war; for there were several armies in Macedonia and the East, of which they took the command. Caesar Octavianus Augustus, therefore, and Mark Antony, proceeding against them (for Lepidus remained for the defence of Italy), came to an engagement at Philippi, a city of Macedonia. In the first battle Antony and Caesar were defeated, but Cassius, the leader of the nobility, fell; in the second they defeated and killed Brutus, and very many of the nobility who had joined them in the war; and the republic was divided among the conquerors, so that Augustus had Spain, the Gauls, and Italy; Antony, Asia, Pontus, and the East. But the consul Lucius Antonius, the brother of him who had fought with Caesar against Brutus and Cassius, kindled a civil war in Italy; and being defeated near Perusia, a city of Tuscany, was taken prisoner, but not put to death.

IV

In the meantime a war of a serious nature was excited in Sicily by Sextus Pompey, the son of Cnaeus Pompey the Great, those that survived of the party of Brutus and Cassius flocking to join him from all parts. The war against Sextus Pompey was carried on by Gassar Augustus Octavianus and Mark Antony. A peace was at length concluded.

V

About that time Marcus Agrippa met with great success in Aquitania; also Lucius Ventidius Bassus defeated the Persians, who were making incursions into Syria, in three engagements. He killed Pacorus, the son of king Orodes, on that very day on which Orodes, the king of the Persians, had before put Crassus to death by the hands of his general Surena. He was the first who celebrated a most legitimate triumph at Rome over the Parthians.

VI

In the meantime Sextus Pompey violated the peace, and, being defeated in a sea-fight, fled to Asia, and was there put to death.

Antony, who was master of Asia and the East, having divorced the sister of Caesar Augustus Octavianus, married Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. He also fought in person against the Persians, and defeated them in the first encounters; but on his return suffered greatly from famine and pestilence; and as the Parthians pressed on him in his retreat, he retired from before them just as if he had been defeated.

VII

He also excited a great civil war, at the instigation of his wife Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who aspired with a womanish ambition to reign at Rome. He was defeated by Augustus in the remarkable and celebrated sea-fight at Actium, a place in Epirus; whence he fled into Egypt, and there, as his circumstances grew desperate, since all went over to Augustus, committed suicide. Cleopatra applied to herself an asp, and perished by its venom. Egypt was added to, the Roman empire by Octavianus Augustus, and Cnaeus Cornelius Gallus appointed governor of it; he was the first Roman judge that Egypt had.

VIII

Having thus brought wars to an end throughout the world, OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS returned to Rome in the twelfth year after he had been elected consul. From that period he held the government as sole ruler for forty-four years, for during the twelve previous years he had held it in conjunction with Antony and Lepidus. Thus from the beginning of his reign to the end were fifty-six years. He died a natural death in his eighty-sixth year, at the town of Atella in Campania. and his remains are interred at Rome in the Campus Martius. He was a man who was considered in most respects, and not without reason, to resemble a divinity, for scarcely ever was there any one more successful than he in war, or more prudent in peace. During the forty-four years that he held the government alone, he conducted himself with the greatest courtesy, being most liberal to all, and most faithful to his friends,

whom he raised to such honours, that he placed them almost on a level with his own dignity.

IX

At no period was the Roman state more flourishing; for, to say nothing of the civil wars, in which he was unconquered, he added to the Roman empire Egypt, Cantabria, Dalmatia, often before conquered but only then entirely subdued, Pannonia, Aquitania, Illyricum, Rhaetia, the Vindelici and Salassi on the Alps, and all the maritime cities of Pontus, among which the two most noble were Bosphorus and Panticapaeon. He also conquered the Dacians in battle; put to the sword numerous forces of the Germans; and drove them beyond the river Elbe, which is in the country of the barbarians far beyond the Rhine. This war however he carried on by the agency of his step-son Drusus, as he had conducted the Pannonian war by that of his other step-son Tiberius, in which he transplanted forty thousand prisoners from Germany, and settled them in Gaul on the bank of the Rhine. He recovered Armenia from the Parthians; the Persians gave him hostages, which they had given to no one before; and also restored the Roman standards, which they had taken from Crassus when he was defeated.

X

The Scythians and Indians, to whom the Roman name was before unknown, sent him presents and ambassadors. Galatia also was made a province under his reign, having before been an independent kingdom, and Marcus Lollius was the first that governed it, in quality of praetor. So much was he beloved even by the barbarians, that kings, allies of the Roman people, founded cities in his honour, to which they gave the name of Caesarea, as one in Mauritania, built by King Juba, and another in Palestine, which is now a very celebrated city. Many kings, moreover, left their own dominions, and, assuming the Roman dress, that is, the toga, ran by the side of his carriage or his horse. At his death he was styled a divinity. He left the state in a most prosperous condition to his successor Tiberius, who had been his step-son, afterwards his son-in-law, and lastly his son by adoption.

XI

TIBERIUS distinguished his reign by great indolence, excessive cruelty, unprincipled avarice, and abandoned licentiousness. He fought on no occasion in person; the wars were carried on by his generals. Some kings, whom he induced to visit him by seducing allurements, he never sent back; among them was Archelaus of Cappadocia, whose kingdom also he reduced to the form of a province, and directed that its principal city should be called after his own name; and, having been before called Mazaca, it is now termed Caesarea. He died in Campania, in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the eighty-third of his age, to the great joy of all men.

XII

To him succeeded CAIUS CAESAR, surnamed CALIGULA, the grandson of Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, and grand-nephew² of Tiberius himself, a most wicked and cruel prince, who effaced even the memory of Tiberius's enormities. He undertook a war against the Germans; but, after entering Suevia, made no effort to do anything. He committed incest with his sisters, and acknowledged a daughter that he had by one of them. While tyrannizing over all with the utmost avarice, licentiousness, and cruelty, he was assassinated in the palace, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, in the third year, tenth month, and eighth day of his reign.

XIII

After him reigned CLAUDIUS, the uncle of Caligula, and son of that Drusus who has a monument at Moguntiacum, whose grandson Caligula also was. His reign was of no striking character; he acted, in many respects, with gentleness and moderation, in some with cruelty and folly. He made war upon Britain, which no Roman since Julius Caesar had visited; and, having reduced it through the agency of Cnaeus Sentius and Aulus Plautius, illustrious and noble men, he celebrated a magnificent triumph. Certain islands also, called the Orcades, situated in the ocean, beyond Britain, he added to the Roman empire, and gave his son the name of Britannicus. So condescending, too, was he towards some of his friends, that he even attended Plautius, a man of noble birth, who had obtained many signal successes in the expedition to Britain, in his triumph, and walked at his left hand when he went up to the Capitol. He lived to the age of sixty-four, and reigned fourteen years; and after his death

was consecrated³ and deified.

XIV

To him succeeded NERO, who greatly resembled his uncle Caligula, and both disgraced and weakened the Roman empire; he indulged in such extraordinary luxury and extravagance, that, after the example of Caius Caligula, he even bathed in hot and cold perfumes, and fished with golden nets, which he drew up with cords of purple silk. He put to death a very great number of the senate. To all good men he was an enemy. At last he exposed himself in so disgraceful a manner, that he danced and sung upon the stage in the dress of a harp-player and tragedian. He was guilty of many murders, his brother, wife, and mother, being put to death by him. He set on fire the city of Rome, that he might enjoy the sight of a spectacle such as Troy formerly presented when taken and burned.

In military affairs he attempted nothing. Britain he almost lost; for two of its most noble towns⁴ were taken and levelled to the ground under his reign. The Parthian's took from him Armenia, and compelled the Roman legions to pass under the yoke. Two provinces however were formed under him; Pontus Polemoniachus, by the concession of King Polemon; and the Cottian Alps, on the death of King Cottius.

XV

When, having become detestable by such conduct to the city of Rome, and being deserted at the same time by every one, and declared an enemy by the senate, he was sought for to be led to punishment (the punishment being, that he should be dragged naked through the streets, with a fork placed under his head,⁵ be beaten to death with rods, and then hurled from the Tarpeian rock), he fled from the palace, and killed himself in a suburban villa of one of his freed-men, between the Salarian and Nomentane roads, at the fourth milestone from the city. He built those hot baths at Rome, which were formerly called the Neronian, but now the Alexandrian. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth year of his reign; and in him all the family of Augustus became extinct.

XVI

To Nero succeeded SERVIUS GALBA, a senator of a very ancient and noble family, elected emperor when in his seventy-third year by the Spaniards and Gauls, and soon after readily acknowledged by the whole army; for his life, though but that of a private person,⁶ had been distinguished by many military and civil exploits, having been often consul, often proconsul, and frequently general in most important wars. His reign was short, but had a promising commencement, except that he seemed to incline too much to severity. He was killed however by the treachery of Otho, in the seventh month of his reign, in the forum at Rome, and buried in his gardens, which are situated in the Aurelian way, not far from the city.

XVII

OTHO, after Galba was killed, took possession of the government, a man of a nobler descent on the mother's than the father's side, but obscure on neither. In private life he was effeminate, and an intimate of Nero; in his government he could give no evidence of his disposition; for Vitellius, about the same time that Otho had slain Galba, having been also chosen emperor by the German armies, Otho, having commenced a war against him, and having sustained a defeat in a slight skirmish near Bebriacum in Italy, voluntarily, though he had still powerful forces remaining, put an end to his life, in spite of the entreaties of his soldiers that he would not so soon despair of the issue of the war; saying, "that he was not of sufficient importance that a civil war should be raised on his account." He perished thus voluntarily in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and on the ninety-fifth day of his reign.

XVIII

VITELLIUS next obtained the imperial dignity, of a family rather honourable than noble, for his father was not of very high birth, though he had filled three regular consulships. He reigned most disgracefully, being distinguished by the greatest cruelty, but especially by gluttony and voraciousness, since he is reported to have often feasted four or five times a day. A most remarkable supper at least has been recorded, which his brother Vitellius set before him, and in which, besides other expensive dainties, two thousand fishes and seven thousand birds are said to have been placed on the table.

Being anxious to resemble Nero, and aiming so openly at this that he even

paid respect to his remains, which had been meanly buried, he was slain by the generals of the emperor Vespasian, Vitellius having previously put to death Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, and burned his corpse at the same time with the Capitol. When killed, he was dragged naked, with great ignominy, through the public streets of the city, with his hair erect, and his head raised by means of a sword placed under his chin, and pelted with dung on the face and breast by all that came in the way; at last his throat was cut, and he was thrown into the Tiber, and had not even the common rites of burial. He perished in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in the eighth month and first day of his reign.

XIX

To him succeeded VESPASIAN, who had been chosen emperor in Palestine, a prince indeed of obscure birth, but worthy to be compared with the best emperors, and in private life⁷ greatly distinguished, as he had been sent by Claudius into Germany, and afterwards into Britain, and had contended two and thirty times with the enemy; he had also added to the Roman empire two very powerful nations,⁸ twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight on the coast of Britain. At Rome he acted with the greatest forbearance during his government; though he was rather too eager after money; not however that he deprived any one of it unjustly, and even when he had collected it with the greatest diligence and anxiety, he was in the habit of distributing it most readily, especially to the indigent; nor was the liberality of any prince before him greater or more judicious: he was also of a most mild and amiable disposition, insomuch that he never willingly inflicted a severer penalty than banishment, even on persons convicted of treason against himself.

Under this prince Judaea was added to the Roman empire, and Jerusalem, the most celebrated city of Palestine. He also reduced to the form of provinces Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, Samos, which had been free till this period; together with Thrace, Cilicia, and Comagena, which had been governed by their respective kings in alliance with the Romans.

XX

Offences and animosities he never bore in mind; reproaches uttered against himself by lawyers and philosophers he bore with indulgence, but was a

strenuous enforcer of military discipline. He triumphed, together with his son Titus, on account of the taking of Jerusalem.

After having thus become an object of love and favour with the senate and the people, and indeed with all men, he died of a diarrhoea, in his own villa in the Sabine country, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, the ninth year and seventh day of his reign; and was enrolled among the gods.

XXI

To him succeeded his son TITUS, who was also called Vespasian, a man remarkable for every species of virtue, so that he was styled the favourite and delight of mankind. He was extremely eloquent, warlike, and temperate; he pleaded causes in Latin, and composed poems and tragedies in Greek. At the siege of Jerusalem, while serving under his father, he killed twelve of the besieged with wounds from as many arrows. During his government at Rome, such was his lenity towards the citizens, that he did not punish a single person; and even some that were convicted of a conspiracy against himself he released, and treated them on the same terms of intimacy as before. Such was his good-nature and generosity, that he never refused any thing to any one, and being blamed by his friends on this account, replied, that no one ought to leave an emperor in discontent. Hence, having recollected once at supper, that he had conferred no obligation on any one that day, he exclaimed: "O, my friends! I have lost this day!" He built an amphitheatre at Rome, and slaughtered five thousand wild beasts at the dedication of it.

XXII

While beloved for such conduct, with extraordinary affection, he fell ill and died in the same villa as his father, two years, eight months, and twenty days after he became emperor, and in the forty-second year of his age. So great was the public lamentation on his death, that all mourned as for a loss in their own families. The senate, having received intelligence of his death about the evening, hurried into the senate-house in the night, and heaped upon him after his death even more expressions of good will and commendation, than they had uttered when he was alive and present among them. He was enrolled among the gods.

DOMITIAN next received the imperial dignity, the younger brother of Titus, but more like Nero, or Caligula, or Tiberius, than his father or brother. In the commencement however of his reign he used his power with moderation; but, soon proceeding to the greatest excesses of licentiousness, rage, cruelty, and avarice, he provoked such universal detestation, that he effaced the remembrance of his father's and his brother's merits. He put to death the most distinguished of the senate. He was the first that required to be addressed as Lord and God; and he suffered no statue to be erected to him in the Capitol except of gold or silver. He put his own cousins to death. His pride also was execrable.

He made four expeditions, one against the Sarmatians, another against the Catti, and two against the Dacians. On account of the Dacians and the Catti he celebrated a double triumph; for the Sarmatians, he assumed only the laurel. He suffered many disasters however in these wars, for in Sarmatia one of his legions was cut off together with its captain, and by the Dacians Oppius Sabinus, a person of consular dignity, and Cornelius Fuscus, the prefect of the praetorian cohort, were slain, with numerous armies. At Rome he also erected several public buildings, among which were the Capitol, the Forum Transitorium, the Odeum, the Porticus Divorum, the temples of Isis and Serapis, and the Stadium.

But, becoming universally odious on account of his crimes, he was put to death by a conspiracy of his own servants within the palace, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out with extreme insult by common bearers, and buried ignominiously.

ENDNOTES.

¹ *Caesaris nepos*. Grand nephew. Attia, the mother of Octavianus, was the daughter of Julia, Julius Caesar's sister. Thus Julius Caesar was great uncle to Octavianus. — Glareanus.

² *Drusi privigni Augusti, et ipsius Tiberii nepos*. Either something is wanting in the text, as Madame Dacier observes, or *nepos* is used in a double sense, for a grandson and grand-nephew; for Drusus, the grandfather of Caligula, was the brother of Tiberius. I have translated *nepos* in this double sense.

³ *Consecratus est*. This word seems properly to signify “was made an object of worship.”

⁴ *Duo nobilissima oppida*. Three are named, as Grunerus observes, by Tacitus, Annal. XIV. Camelodunum, c. 31, and Londinium and Verulamium, c. 33. Suetonius, however, Nero, c. 39, and Orosius, vii. 7, say two. Camelodunum is said by Camden to be Maiden in Essex; Verulamium was near St. Alban's.

⁵ *Furca capiti ejus inserta*. Thus these words are uniformly written in all the manuscripts and editions that I have seen. But what *furcam capiti inserere* means, I confess that I do not understand, unless that it be possible to explain it by hypallage. Barthius ad Briton. (Philipp, 6, 572) p. 458, judiciously proposes to read *furcae capite inserto*, a correction also made by Oudendorpius in the margin of his copy. Suetonius, Nero, c. 49, has *cervicem inseri furcae*, — Verheyk. Tzschucke fancies that it may be explained by hypallage, for *capite furcae inserto*, and therefore makes no alteration. I have given what is evidently the sense. [“His head inserted in a wooden fork” is H.W.Bird's reading — RP]

⁶ *Privata, ejus vita*. *Privata vita* is opposed to *Imperium*, as in c. 19; for under the emperors, even from the time of Augustus, it had become customary to call all privati except the emperor himself, even such as held the highest offices of state. See Jani ad Hor. Od. iii. 8, 26. So *iōdiw&thj* is opposed to *basileuj* in Zosimus, ii. 7. — Tzschucke.

⁷ *Privata vita*. See note on c. 16.

⁸ *Duas validissimas gentes*. The Greek translator thinks that the Britons and Germans are meant. Vespasian is said to have recovered Britain, by Tacitus, Agric. c. 17. What other nation is intended is not clear.

BOOK VIII

Justice and mildness of Nerva, I. — Merits of Trajan; he extends the limits of the Roman empire, II.-V. — Hadrian, envying the glory of Trajan, contracts the bounds of the empire, and promotes the arts and occupations of peace, VI. VII. — Virtues of Antoninus Pius, VIII. — After his reign the commonwealth had two emperors with equal power, Marcus and Lucius Antoninus Verus; the studies and character of Marcus; his wars in Parthia, Germany, and with the Marcomanni, which he conducted alone or in conjunction with Lucius, IX.-XIV. — Antoninus Commodus, who resembles his father only in fighting successfully against the Germans, XV. — Helvius Pertinax, XVI. — Salvius Julianus, XVII. — Septimius Severus, an African, overthrows his rivals for the throne, and conquers the Parthians, Arabians, and Adiabeni, XVIII. — His learning; his war and death in Britain, XIX. — Antoninus Caracalla, XX. — Opilius Macrinus and Diadumenus, XXI. — Heliogabalus, XXII. — Alexander Severus; his victory over the Persians; his enforcement of military discipline; in his reign lived Ulpian, XXIII.

I

In the eight hundred and fiftieth year from the foundation of the city, in the consulship of Vetus and Valens, the empire was restored to a most prosperous condition, being committed, with great good fortune, to the rule of meritorious princes. To Domitian, a most murderous tyrant, succeeded NERVA, a man of moderation and activity in private life, and of noble descent, though not of the very highest rank. He was made emperor at an advanced age, Petronius Secundus, the praefect of the praetorian guards, and Parthenius, one of the assassins of Domitian, giving him their support, and conducted himself with great justice and public spirit.¹ He provided for the good of the state by a divine foresight, in his adoption of Trajan. He died at Rome, after a reign of one year, four months, and eight days, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was enrolled among the gods.

II

To him succeeded ULPIUS CRINITUS TRAJANUS, born at Italica² in Spain, of a family rather ancient than eminent for his father was the first consul in it. He was chosen emperor at Agrippina, a city of Gaul. He exercised the government in such a manner, that he is deservedly preferred to all the other emperors. He was a man of extraordinary skill in managing affairs of state, and of remarkable courage. The limits of the Roman empire, which, since the

reign of Augustus, had been rather defended than honourably enlarged, he extended far and wide. He rebuilt some cities in Germany; he subdued Dacia by the overthrow of Decebalus, and formed a province beyond the Danube, in that territory which the Thraiphali, Victoali, and Thuringi now occupy. This province was a thousand miles in circumference.

III

He recovered Armenia, which the Parthians had seized, putting to death Parthamasires who held the government of it. He gave a king to the Albani. He received into alliance the king of the Iberians, Sarmatians, Bosphorani, Arabians, Osdroeni, and Colchians. He obtained the mastery over the Cordueni and Marcomedi, as well as over Anthemusia, an extensive region of Persia. He conquered and kept possession of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Babylon, and the country of the Messenii. He advanced as far as the boundaries of India, and the Red Sea, where he formed three provinces, Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, including the tribes which border on Madena.³ He afterwards, too, reduced Arabia into the form of a province. He also fitted out a fleet for the Red Sea, that he might use it to lay waste the coasts of India.

IV

Yet he went beyond his glory in war, in ability and judgment as a ruler, conducting himself as an equal towards all, going often to his friends as a visitor,⁴ either when they were ill, or when they were celebrating feast days, and entertaining them in his turn at banquets where there was no distinction of rank, and sitting frequently with them in their chariots; doing nothing unjust towards any of the senators, nor being guilty of any dishonesty to fill his treasury; exercising liberality to all, enriching with offices of trust, publicly and privately, every body whom he had known even with the least familiarity; building towns throughout the world, granting many immunities to states, and doing every thing with gentleness and kindness; so that during his whole reign, there was but one senator condemned, and he was sentenced by the senate without Trajan's knowledge. Hence, being regarded throughout the world as next to a god, he deservedly obtained the highest veneration both living and dead.

Among other sayings of his, the following remarkable one is mentioned. When his friends found fault with him, for being too courteous to every body, he replied, that “he was such an emperor to his subjects, as he had wished, when a subject, that emperors should be to him.”

After having gained the greatest glory both in the field and at home, he was cut off, as he was returning from Persia, by a diarrhoea, at Seleucia in Isauria. He died in the sixty-third year, ninth month, and fourth day of his age, and in the nineteenth year, sixth month, and fifteenth day of his reign. He was enrolled among the gods, and was the only one of all the emperors that was buried within the city. His bones, contained in a golden urn, lie in the forum which he himself built, under a pillar whose height is a hundred and forty-four feet. So much respect has been paid to his memory, that, even to our own times, they shout in acclamations to the emperors, “More fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan!” So much has the fame of his goodness prevailed, that it affords ground for most noble illustration in the hands either of such as flatter, or of such as praise with sincerity.

VI

After the death of Trajan, Aelius HADRIAN was made emperor, not from any wish to that effect having been expressed by Trajan himself, but through the influence of Plotina, Trajan’s wife; for Trajan in his life-time had refused to adopt him, though he was the son of his cousin.⁵ He also was born at Italica in Spain. Envyng Trajan’s glory, he immediately gave up three of the provinces which Trajan had added to the empire, withdrawing the armies from Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and deciding that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the empire. When he was proceeding, to act similarly with regard to Dacia, his friends dissuaded him, lest many Roman citizens should be left in the hands of the barbarians, because Trajan, after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities; as the land had been exhausted of inhabitants in the long war maintained by Decebalus.

VII

He enjoyed peace, however, through the whole course of his reign; the only war that he had, he committed to the conduct of a governor of a province. He went about through the Roman empire, and founded many edifices. He spoke with great eloquence in the Latin language, and was very learned in the Greek. He had no great reputation for clemency, but was very attentive to the state of the treasury and the discipline of the soldiers. He died in Compania, more than sixty years old, in the twenty-first year, tenth month, and twenty-ninth day of his reign. The senate was unwilling to allow him divine honours; but his successor Titus Aurelius Fulvius Antonius, earnestly insisting on it, carried his point, though all the senators were openly opposed to him.

VIII

To Hadrian, then, succeeded TITUS ANTONINUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS,⁶ who was also named Pius, sprung from an eminent, though not very ancient, family: a man of high character, who may justly be compared to Numa Pompilius, as Trajan may be paralleled with Romulus. He lived, before he came to the throne, in great honour, but in greater still during his reign. He was cruel to none, but indulgent to all. His reputation in military affairs was but moderate; he studied rather to defend the provinces than to enlarge them. He sought out the most just men to fill political offices. He paid respect to the good; for the bad he showed dislike without treating them with harshness. By kings in alliance with Rome he was not less venerated than feared, so that many nations among the barbarians, laying aside their arms, referred their controversies and disputes to him, and submitted to his decision. He was very rich before he began to reign, but diminished his wealth by pay to the soldiers and bounties to his friends; he left the treasury, however, well stored. It was for his clemency that he was surnamed Pius. He died at his country seat called Lorium, twelve miles from the city, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He was enrolled among the gods, and was deservedly an object of veneration.⁷

IX

After him reigned MARCUS ANTONINUS VERUS, a man indisputably of noble birth; for his descent, on the father's side, was from Numa Pompilius, and on the mother's from a king of the Sallentines,⁸ and jointly with him

reigned Lucius ANTONINUS VERUS. Then it was that the commonwealth of Rome was first subject to two sovereigns, ruling with equal power, when, till their days, it had always had but one emperor at a time.

X

These two were connected both by relationship⁹ and affinity; for Verus Antoninus had married the daughter of Marcus Antoninus; and Marcus Antoninus was the son-in-law of Antoninus Pius, having married Galeria Faustina the younger, his own cousin. They carried on a war against the Parthians, who then rebelled for the first time since their subjugation by Trajan. Verus Antoninus went out to conduct that war, and, remaining at Antioch and about Armenia, effected many important achievements by the agency of his generals; he took Seleucia, the most eminent city of Assyria, with forty thousand prisoners; he brought off materials for a triumph over the Parthians, and celebrated it in conjunction with his brother, who was also his father-in-law. He died in Venetia,¹⁰ as he was going from the city of Concordia to Altinum. While he was sitting in his chariot with his brother, he was suddenly struck with a rush of blood, a disease¹¹ which the Greeks call apoplexis. He was a man who had little control over his passions, but who never ventured to do anything outrageous, from respect for his brother. After his death, which took place in the eleventh year of his reign, he was enrolled among the gods.

XI

After him MARCUS ANTONINUS held the government alone, a man whom any one may more easily admire than sufficiently commend. He was, from his earliest years, of a most tranquil disposition; so that even in his infancy he changed countenance neither for joy nor for sorrow. He was devoted to the Stoic philosophy, and was himself a philosopher, not only in his way of life, but in learning. He was the object of so much admiration, while yet a youth, that Hadrian intended to make him his successor; but having adopted Titus Antoninus Pius, he wished Marcus to become Titus's son-in-law, that he might by that means come to the throne.

XII

He was trained in philosophy by Apollonius of Chalcedon; in the study of the Greek language by Sextus of Chseronea, the grandson of Plutarch; while the eminent orator Fronto instructed him in Latin literature. He conducted himself towards all men at Rome as if he had been their equal, being moved to no arrogance by his elevation to empire. He exercised the most prompt liberality, and managed the provinces with the utmost kindness and indulgence. Under his rule affairs were successfully conducted against the Germans. He himself carried on one war with the Marcomanni, but this was greater than any in the memory of man,¹² so that it is compared to the Punic wars; for it became so much the more formidable, as whole armies had been lost; since, under the emperor, after the victory over the Parthians,¹³ there occurred so destructive a pestilence, that at Rome, and throughout Italy and the provinces, the greater part of the inhabitants, and almost all the troops, sunk under the disease.

XIII

Having persevered, therefore, with the greatest labour and patience, for three whole years at Carnuntum,¹⁴ he brought the Marcomannic war to an end; a war which the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Suevi, and all the barbarians in that quarter, had joined with the Marcomanui in raising; he killed several thousand men, and, having delivered the Pannonians from slavery, triumphed a second time at Rome with his son Commodus Antoninus, whom he had previously made Caesar.¹⁵ As he had no money to give his soldiers, in consequence of the treasury having been exhausted for the support of the war, and as he was unwilling to lay any tax on the provinces or the senate, he sold off all his imperial furniture and decorations, by an auction held in the forum of the emperor Trajan, consisting of vessels of gold, cups of crystal and murrha,¹⁶ silk garments belonging to his wife and himself, embroidered with gold, and numbers of jewelled ornaments. This sale was continued through two successive months, and a great quantity of money was raised from it. After his victory, however, he gave back the money to such of the purchasers as were willing to restore what they had bought, but was by no means troublesome to any one who preferred to keep their purchases.

XIV

He allowed the more eminent men to give entertainments with the same

magnificence, and the same number of attendants, as himself. In the display of games after his victory, he was so munificent, that he is said to have exhibited a hundred lions at once. Having, then, rendered the state happy, both by his excellent management and gentleness of disposition, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life, and was enrolled among the gods, all unanimously voting that such honour should be paid him.

XV

His successor, LUCIUS ANTONINUS COMMODUS, had no resemblance to his father, except that he fought successfully the Germans. He endeavoured to alter the name of the month of September¹⁷ to his own, so that it should be called Commodus. But he was corrupted with luxury and licentiousness. He often fought, with gladiator's arms, in the fencing school, and afterwards with men of that class in the amphitheatre. He died so sudden a death, that he was thought to have been strangled or despatched by poison, after he had reigned twelve years and eight months after his father, and in the midst of such execration from all men, that even after his death he was styled "the enemy of the human race."

XVI

To him succeeded PERTINAX, at a very advanced age, having reached his seventieth year; he was appointed to be emperor by a decree of the senate, when he was holding the office of prefect of the city. He was killed in a mutiny of the praetorian soldiers, by the villany of Julianus, on the eightieth day of his reign.

XVII

After his death SALVIUS JULIANUS seized the government, a man of noble birth, and eminently skilled in the law; he was the grandson of that Salvius Julianus who composed the perpetual edict¹⁸ in the reign of the emperor Hadrian. He was defeated by Severus at the Milvian bridge, and killed in the palace. He lived only eight months after he began to reign.

XVIII

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS then assumed the government of the Roman empire; a native of Africa, born in the province of Tripolis, and town of Leptis. He was the only African, in all the time before or after him, that became emperor. He was first praefect of the treasury, afterwards military tribune, and then rose, through several offices and posts of honour, to the government of the whole state. He had an inclination to be called Pertinax, in honour of that Pertinax who had been killed by Julian. He was very parsimonious, and naturally cruel. He conducted many wars, and with success. He killed Pescennius Niger, who had raised a rebellion in Egypt and Syria, at Cyzicus. He overcame the Parthians, the interior Arabians, and the Adiabeni. The Arabians he so effectually reduced, that he made them a province; hence he was called Parthicus, Arabicus, and Adiabenicus. He rebuilt many edifices throughout the whole Roman world. In his reign, too, Clodius Albinus, who had been an accomplice of Julianus in killing Pertinax, set himself up for Caesar in Gaul, and was overthrown and killed at Lyons.

XIX

Severus, in addition to his glory in war, was also distinguished in the pursuits of peace, being not only accomplished in literature, but having acquired a complete knowledge of philosophy. The last war that he had was in Britain; and that he might preserve, with all possible security, the provinces which he had acquired, he built a rampart of thirty-two miles long from one sea to the other. He died at an advanced age at York, in the eighteenth year and fourth month of his reign, and was honoured with the title of god. He left his two sons, Bassianus and Geta, to be his successors, but desired that the name of Antoninus should be given by the senate to Bassianus only, who, accordingly, was named Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, and was his father's successor. As for Geta, he was declared a public enemy, and soon after put to death.

XX

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS BASSIANUS, then, who . was also called CARACALLA, was a man very much of his father's disposition, but somewhat more rough and vindictive. He erected a bath of excellent construction at Rome, which is called the bath of Antoninus,¹⁹ but did nothing

else worthy of record. He wanted ability to control his passions; for he married his own step-mother Julia. He died in Osdroene,²⁰ near Edessa, while he was planning an expedition against the Parthians, in the sixth year and second month of his reign, having scarcely passed the forty-second year of his age. He was buried with a public funeral.

XXI

OPILIUS MACRINUS, who was captain of the praetorian guards, and his son DIADUMENUS, were then made emperors, but did nothing memorable, in consequence of the shortness of their reign; for it lasted but a year and two months. They were both killed together in a mutiny of the soldiers.

XXII

After these, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS was made emperor, who was thought to be the son of Antoninus Caracalla. He was however priest of the temple of Heliogabalus.²¹ Having come to Rome with high expectations on the part of the army and the senate, he polluted himself with every kind of impurity. He led a life of the utmost shamelessness and obscenity, and was killed at the end of two years and eight months in a tumult of the soldiers. His mother Soëmia, a native of Syria, perished with him.

XXIII

To him succeeded AURELIUS ALEXANDER, a very young man, who was named Caesar by the army, and Augustus by the senate. Having undertaken a war with the Persians, he defeated their king Xerxes with great glory. He enforced military discipline with much severity, and disbanded whole legions that raised a disturbance. He had for his adviser, or secretary of state, Ulpian, the compiler of the law. He was also in great favour at Rome. He lost his life in Gaul, in a tumult of the soldiery, in the thirteenth year and eighth day of his reign. He testified great affection for his mother Mammaea.

ENDNOTES.

¹ *Se civilissimum praebuilt.* *Civilis*, applied to a person, properly signifies that he “behaves as a citizen ought to behave towards his fellow citizens,” and may often be rendered “polite, affable, courteous.” *Civilitas* has two senses; one derived from this sense of *civilis*, and the other “the art of governing, or directing affairs in a *civitas*, or free state.” Both these words occur frequently in Eutropius; I have endeavoured always to give them that sense which the passages where they are found seemed to require.

² A town on the Baetis or Guadalquivir, not far from Seville. It was also the birth-place of Hadrian.

³ So Tzschucke writes the word. As it was a later name of Media, it should rather, it would appear, be written Medena, as Cellarius gives it in his edition of Sextus Rufus, c. 16.

⁴ *Gratia salutandi.* “For the sake of saluting or paying his respects to them.”

⁵ Domitia Paullina — Glarcanus.

⁶ *Boionius.* This name is supposed by Casaubon ad Capitolin. Vit. T. Auton. c. 1 and by Mad. Dacier ad Aurel. Vict. de Caes. c. 16, to be derived from Boionia Pro illa, Titus Antoninus’s grandmother, who had made him her heir.

⁷ *Consecratus.* See note on vii. 13.

⁸ The Sallentines were a people of Calabria in Italy; the name of this king was Malennius, according to Capitolinus, Vit. M. Anton. c. 1.

⁹ *Genere.* Both having been adopted by Antoninus Pius; see Capitolinus, Vit. Ant. P. c. 4. Hence Verus is called the brother of Marcus by Aurelius Victor de Caes. c. 16; by Jamblichus ap. Photium, p. 242; by Capitolinus Vit. Veri, c. 4 and 11; and by Orosius, vii. 15. — Tzschucke.

¹⁰ The territory inhabited by the Veneti, in which both Concordia and Altinum were situate, distant from each other about thirty-one miles.

¹¹ *Casu morbi.* Glareanus interprets *casu* by *eventu*. *Casus morbi* seems to be much the same as the simple *morbus*, or *morbus subitus*. In c. 12 occurs *casus pestilentiae*.

¹² *Quantum nullâ memoriâ fuit.* The same words are used by Capitolinus, c. 17. The meaning seems to be, that there had been no war with the Germans equally formidable.

¹³ See c. 10.

¹⁴ A town in Upper Pannonia, on the Danube, where Haimburg or Petronel now stands. See Mannert, T. iii. p. 740; also Cluverius and Cellarius.

¹⁵ The title of Caesar was now given to the person next in dignity to the emperor, and who was intended to succeed him.

¹⁶ *Murrhina*. What substance *murrha* was is unknown. It has been thought to be porcelain, but is now generally supposed to have been some kind of stone. [H.W.Bird: “wine flavoured with myrrh” — RP]

¹⁷ He wished, as Tzschucke observes, to have the month of August called *Commodus*, and that of September, *Herculius*. See Lamprid. Vit. Comm. c. 11.

¹⁸ The praetors had been accustomed to publish each his own edict, as to the method in which he intended to administer justice for his year. The edicts were of course often very different; but by this *perpetual edict* a uniform course of proceeding was laid down. See note on C. Nep. Life of Cato, c. 2.

¹⁹ *Opus lavacri, quae Antoninianae appellantur*. The change of gender and number, as Tzschucke observes, makes the reader suspect that something must be wrong. Cellarius supplies *thermae*.

²⁰ More frequently written Osrhoene.

²¹ A Syrophenician deity at Emesa; hence he himself was called Heliogabalus. He was made emperor through the artifices of his grandmother. Julia Moesa, who pretended that he was the son of Caracalla.

BOOK IX

Maximin successful in his wars in Germany, I. — Three emperors at once, Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordian; Gordian becomes sole emperor, and goes to war with Persia, II. — The two Philips, father and son; the thousandth year of Rome, III. — Decius suppresses an insurrection in Gaul, IV. — Gallus Hostilianus and his son Volusianus, V. — Short reign of Aemilianus, VI. — Disadvantageous reign of Valerian and Gallienus; several aspirants assume the purple, VII.-X. — Claudius defeats the Goths; his honours, XI. — Quintillus, XII. — Aurelian defeats the Goths, Tetricus, Zenobia; suppresses a rebellion at Rome; his character, XIII.-XV. — Tacitus, Florianus, XVI. — Probus; his acts in Gaul and Pannonia, XVIII. — Carus; his successes in Persia; death of him and Numerianus, XVIII. XIX. — Diocletian made emperor; overthrows Carinus; suppresses an insurrection in Gaul, XX. — Makes Herculus emperor, and Constantius and Maximian Caesars; proceedings in Britain, Egypt, Africa, and among the Alemanni, XXI.-XXIII. — Varied fortune of Maximian in Persia; subjugation of the Carpi, Bastarnae, and Sarmatians, XXIV. XXV. — Character of Diocletian and Maximian; their abdication of the imperial power, XXVI.-XXVIII.

I

After him MAXIMIN came to the throne, the first emperor that was elected from the army by the will of the soldiers, no approbation of the senate being given, and he himself not being a senator. After conducting a successful war against the Germans, and being on that account saluted *Imperator*¹ by his troops, he was slain by Pupienus at Aquileia,² together with his son who was then but a boy, his soldiers forsaking him. He had reigned, with his son, three years and a few days.

II

There were then three emperors at the same time, PUPIENUS, BALBINUS, and GORDIAN, the two former of very obscure origin, the last of noble birth; for the elder Gordian, his father, had been chosen prince by the consent of the soldiery in the reign of Maximin, when he held the proconsulship of Africa. When Balbinus and Pupienus came to Rome, they were killed in the palace; and the empire was given to Gordian alone.

After Gordian, when quite a boy, had married Tranquillina at Rome, he opened the temple of Janus, and, setting out for the east, made war upon the Parthians, who were then proceeding to make an irruption. This war he soon conducted with success, and made havoc of the Persians in great battles. As

he was returning, he was killed, not far from the Roman boundaries, by the treachery of Philip who reigned after him. The Roman soldiers raised a monument for him, twenty miles from Circessus, which is now a fortress of the Romans, overlooking the Euphrates. His relics they brought to Rome, and gave him the title of god.

III

When Gordian was killed, the two PHILIPS, father and son, seized on the government, and, having brought off the army safe, set out from Syria for Italy. In their reign the thousandth year of the city of Rome was celebrated with games and spectacles of vast magnificence. Soon after, both of them were put to death by the soldiery; the elder Philip at Verona, the younger at Rome. They reigned but five years. They were however ranked among the gods.

IV

After these, DECIUS, a native of Lower Pannonia, born at Budalia, assumed the government. He suppressed a civil war which had been raised in Gaul. He created his son Caesar. He built a bath at Rome. When he and his son had reigned two years, they were both killed in the country of the Barbarians, and enrolled among the gods.

V

Immediately after, GALLUS, HOSTILIANUS, and VOLUSIANUS the son of Gallus, were created emperors. In their reign Aemilianus attempted an insurrection in Moesia; and both³ of them, setting out to stop his progress, were slain at Interamna, when they had not quite completed a reign of two years. They did nothing of any account. Their reign was remarkable only for a pestilence, and for other diseases and afflictions.

VI

AEMILIANUS was little distinguished by birth, and less distinguished by his reign, in the third month of which he was cut off.⁴

VII

LICINIUS VALERIAN, who was then employed in Rhaetia and Noricum, was next made general by the army, and soon after emperor. GALLIENUS also received the title of Caesar from the senate at Rome. The reign of these princes was injurious, and almost fatal, to the Roman name, either through their ill-fortune or want of energy. The Germans advanced as far as Ravenna. Valerian, while he was occupied in a war in Mesopotamia, was overthrown by Sapor king of Persia, and being soon after made prisoner, grew old in ignominious slavery among the Parthians.

VIII

Gallienus, who was made emperor when quite a young man, exercised his power at first happily, afterwards fairly, and at last mischievously. In his youth he performed many gallant acts in Gaul and Illyricum, killing Ingenuus, who had assumed the purple, at Mursa,⁵ and Regalianus. He was then for a long time quiet and gentle; afterwards, abandoning himself to all manner of licentiousness, he relaxed the reins of government with disgraceful inactivity and carelessness. The Alemanni, having laid waste Gaul, penetrated into Italy. Dacia, which had been added to the empire beyond the Danube, was lost. Greece, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia, were devastated by the Goths. Pannonia was depopulated by the Sarmatians and Quadi. The Germans made their way as far as Spain, and took the noble city of Tarraco. The Parthians, after taking possession of Mesopotamia, began to bring Syria under their power.

IX

When affairs were in this desperate condition, and the Roman empire almost ruined, POSTUMUS, a man of very obscure birth, assumed the purple in Gaul, and held the government with such ability for ten years, that he recruited the provinces, which had been almost ruined, by his great energy and judgment; but he was killed in a mutiny of the army, because he would not deliver up Moguntiacum, which had rebelled against him, to be plundered by the soldiers, at the time when Lucius Aelianus was endeavouring to effect a change of government.

After him Marius, a contemptible mechanic,⁶ assumed the purple, and was

killed two days after. Victorinus then took on himself the government of Gaul; a man of great energy; but, as he was abandoned to excessive licentiousness, and corrupted other men's wives, he was assassinated at Agrippina,⁷ in the second year of his reign, one of his secretaries having contrived a plot against him.

X

To him succeeded Tetricus, a senator, who, when he was governing Aquitania with the title of prefect, was chosen emperor in his absence, and assumed the purple at Bourdeaux. He had to endure many insurrections among the soldiery. But while these transactions were passing in Gaul, the Persians, in the east, were overthrown by Odenathus, who, having defended Syria and recovered Mesopotamia, penetrated into the country as far as Ctesiphon.

XI

Thus, while Gallienus abandoned the government, the Roman empire was saved in the west by Posthumus, and in the east by Odenathus. Meanwhile Gallienus was killed at Milan, together with his brother, in the ninth year of his reign, and CLAUDIUS succeeded him, being chosen by the soldiers, and declared emperor by the senate. Claudius defeated the Goths, who were laying waste Illyricum and Macedonia, in a great battle. He was a frugal and modest man, strictly observant of justice, and well qualified for governing the empire. He was however carried off by disease within two years after he began to reign, and had the title of a god. The senate honoured him with extraordinary distinctions, insomuch that a golden shield was hung up to him in the senate house, and a golden statue erected to him in the Capitol.

XII

After him QUINTILLUS, the brother of Claudius, was elected emperor by agreement among the soldiers, a man of singular moderation and aptitude for governing, comparable, or perhaps superior, to his brother. He received the title of emperor with the consent of the senate, and was killed on the seventeenth day of his reign.

XIII

After his death AURELIAN succeeded to the throne. He was born in Dacia Ripensis, and was a man of ability in war, but of an ungovernable temper, and too much inclined to cruelty. He defeated the Goths with great vigour, and extended the Roman empire, by various successes in the field, to its former limits. He overthrew Tetricus at Catalauni⁸ in Gaul, Tetricus himself, indeed, betraying his own army, whose constant mutinies he was unable to bear; and he had even by secret letters entreated Aurelian to march towards him, using, among other solicitations, the verse of Virgil: —

Eripe me his, invicte, malis.

Unconquer'd hero, free me from these ills.

He also took prisoner Zenobia, who, having killed her husband Odenathus, was mistress of the east, in a battle of no great importance near Antioch, and, entering Rome, celebrated a magnificent triumph, as recoverer of the east and the west, Tetricus⁹ and Zenobia going before his chariot. This Tetricus was afterwards governor of Lucania, and lived long after he was divested of the purple. Zenobia left descendants, who still live at Rome.

XIV

In his reign, the people of the mint raised a rebellion in the city, after having adulterated the money, and put to death Felicissimus the commissioner of the treasury. Aurelian suppressed them with the utmost severity; several noblemen he condemned to death. He was indeed cruel and sanguinary, and rather an emperor necessary for the times in some respects than an amiable one in any. He was always severe, and put to death even the son of his own sister. He was however a reformer, in a great degree, of military discipline and dissoluteness of manners.

XV

He surrounded the city of Rome with stronger walls. He built a temple to the Sun, in which he put a vast quantity of gold and precious stones. The province of Dacia, which Trajan had formed beyond the Danube, he gave up, despairing, after all Illyricum and Moesia had been depopulated, of being able to retain it. The Roman citizens, removed from the town and lands of Dacia,

he settled in the interior of Moesia, calling that Dacia which now divides the two Moesiae, and which is on the right hand of the Danube as it runs to the sea, whereas Dacia was previously on the left. He was killed through the treachery of one of his own slaves, who carried to certain military men, the friends of Aurelian, their own names entered upon a list, having counterfeited the hand of Aurelian, and making it appear that he intended to put them to death. That he might be prevented from doing so, he was assassinated by them in the middle of the road, the old paved way, which is between Constantinople and Heraclea. The place is called Caenophrurium. But his death was not unavenged.¹⁰ He also gained the honour of being enrolled among the gods. He reigned five years and six months.

XVI

After him TACITUS succeeded to the throne; a man of excellent morals, and well qualified to govern the empire. He was unable, however, to show the world anything remarkable, being cut off by death in the sixth month of his reign. FLORIANUS, who succeeded Tacitus, was on the throne only two mouths and twenty days, and did nothing worthy of mention.

XVII

PROBUS then succeeded to the government, a man rendered illustrious by the distinction which he obtained in war. He recovered Gaul, which had been seized by the Barbarians, by remarkable successes in the field. He also suppressed, in several battles, some persons that attempted to seize the throne, as Saturninus in the east, and Proculus and Bonosus at Agrippina. He allowed the Gauls and Cannonians to have vineyards. By obliging his soldiers to work, too, he planted vineyards on Mount Alma in Sirmium, and on Mount Aureus in Upper Moesia, and left them to the people of the provinces to cultivate. After he had gone through a great number of wars, and had at last obtained peace, he observed, that “in a short time soldiers would not be wanted.” He was a man of spirit, activity, and justice, equalling Aurelian in military glory, and surpassing him in affability of manners. He was killed, however, at Sirmium, in an iron turret, during an insurrection of the soldiery. He reigned six years and four months.

XVIII

After the death of Probus, CARUS was created emperor, a native of Narbo in Gaul, who immediately made his sons, Carinus and Numerianus, Caesars, and reigned, in conjunction with them, two years. News being brought, while he was engaged in a war with the Sarmatians, of an insurrection among the Persians, he set out for the east, and achieved some noble exploits against that people; he routed them in the field, and took Seleucia and Ctesiphon, their noblest cities, but, while he was encamped on the Tigris, he was killed by lightning. His son NUMERIANUS, too, whom he had taken with him to Persia, a young man of very great ability, while, from being affected with a disease in his eyes, he was carried in a litter, was cut off by a plot of which Aper, his father-in-law, was the promoter; and his death, though attempted craftily to be concealed until Aper could seize the throne, was made known by the odour of his dead body; for the soldiers, who attended him, being struck by the smell, and opening the curtains of his litter, discovered his death some days after it had taken place.

XIX

In the meantime CARINUS, whom Carus, when he set out to the war with Parthia, had left, with the authority of Caesar, to command in Illyricum, Gaul, and Italy, disgraced himself by all manner of crimes; he put to death many innocent persons on false accusations, formed illicit connexions with the wives of noblemen, and wrought the ruin of several of his school-fellows, who happened to have offended him at school by some slight provocation. Incurring the hatred of all men. by such proceedings, he not long after met with deserved punishment.

The victorious army, on returning from Persia, as they had lost their emperor Carus by lightning, and the Caesar Numerianus by a plot, conferred the imperial dignity on DIOCLETIAN, a native of Dalmatia, of such extremely obscure birth, that he is said by most writers to have been the son of a clerk, but by some to have been a freedman of a senator named Anulinus.

XX

Diocletian, in the first assembly of the army that was held, took an oath that

Numerian was not killed by any treachery on his part; and while Aper, who had laid the plot for Numerian's life, was standing by, he was killed, in the sight of the army, with a sword by the hand of Diocletian. He soon after overthrew Carinus, who was living under the utmost hatred and detestation, in a great battle at Margum,¹¹ Carinus being betrayed by his own troops, for though he had a greater number of men than the enemy, he was altogether abandoned by them between Viminacium and mount Aureus. He thus became master of the Roman empire; and when the peasants in Gaul made an insurrection, giving their faction the name of Bagaudae,¹² and having for leaders Amandus and Aelianus, he despatched Maximian Herculus, with the authority of Caesar, to suppress them. Maximian, in a few battles of little importance, subdued the rustic multitude, and restored peace to Gaul.

XXI

During this period, Carausius, who, though of very mean birth, had gained extraordinary reputation by a course of active service in war, having received a commission in his post at Bononia, to clear the sea, which the Franks and Saxons infested, along the coast of Belgica and Armorica, and having captured numbers of the barbarians on several occasions, but having never given back the entire booty to the people of the province or sent it to the emperors, and there being a suspicion, in consequence, that the barbarians were intentionally allowed by him to congregate there, that he might seize them and their booty as they passed, and by that means enrich himself, assumed, on being sentenced by Maximian to be put to death, the imperial purple, and took on him the government of Britain.

XXII

While disorder thus prevailed throughout the world, while Carausius was taking arms in Britain and Achilleus in Egypt, while the Quinquegentiani¹³ were harassing Africa, and Narseus¹⁴ was making war upon the east, Diocletian promoted MAXIMIAN HERCULIUS from the dignity of Caesar to that "of emperor, and created Constantius and Maximian Galerius Caesars, of whom Constantius is said to have been the grand-nephew of Claudius¹⁵ by a daughter, and Maximian Galerius to have been born in Dacia not far from Sardica.¹⁶ That he might also unite them by affinity, Constantius married

Theodora the step-daughter of Herculus, by whom he had afterwards six children, brothers to Constantine; while Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian; both being obliged to divorce the wives that they had before. With Carausius, however, as hostilities were found vain against a man eminently skilled in war, a peace was at last arranged. At the end of seven years, Allectus, one of his supporters, put him to death, and held Britain himself for three years subsequently, but was cut off by the efforts of Asclepiodotus, praefect of the praetorian guard.

XXIII

At the same period a battle was fought by Constantius Caesar in Gaul, at Lingonae,¹⁷ where he experienced both good and had fortune in one day; for though he was driven into the city by a sudden onset of the barbarians, with such haste and precipitation that after the gates were shut he was drawn up the wall by ropes, yet, when his army came up, after the lapse of scarcely six hours, he cut to pieces about sixty thousand of the Alemanni. Maximian the emperor, too, brought the war to an end in Africa, by subduing the Quinquegentiani, and compelling them to make peace. Diocletian, meanwhile, besieging Achilleus in Alexandria, obliged him to surrender about eight months after, and put him. to death. He used his victory, indeed, cruelly, and distressed all Egypt with severe proscriptions and massacres. Yet at the same time he made many judicious arrangements and regulations, which continue to our own days.

XXIV

Galerius Maximian, in acting against Narseus, fought, on the first occasion, a battle far from successful, meeting him between Callinicus and Carrae, and engaging in the combat rather with rashness than want of courage; for he contended with a small army against a very numerous enemy. Being in consequence defeated, and going to join Diocletian, he was received by him, when he met him on the road, with such extreme haughtiness, that he is said to have run by his chariot for several miles in his scarlet robes.

XXV

But having soon after collected forces in Illyricum and Moesia, he fought a second time with Narseus (the grandfather of Hormisdas and Sapor), in Greater Armenia, with extraordinary success, and with no less caution and spirit, for he undertook, with one or two of the cavalry, the office of a *speculator*.¹⁸ After putting Narseus to flight, he captured his wives, sisters, and children, with a vast number of the Persian nobility besides, and a great quantity of treasure; the king himself he forced to take refuge in the remotest deserts in his dominions. Returning therefore in triumph to Diocletian, who was then encamped with some troops in Mesopotamia, he was welcomed by him with great honour. Subsequently, they conducted several wars both in conjunction and separately, subduing the Carpi and Bastarntae, and defeating the Sarmatians, from which nations he settled a great number of captives in the Roman territories.

XXVI

Diocletian was of a crafty disposition, with much sagacity, and keen penetration. He was willing to gratify his own disposition to cruelty in such a way as to throw the odium upon others; he was however a very active and able prince. He was the first that introduced into the Roman empire a ceremony suited rather to royal usages than to Roman liberty, giving orders that he should be adored,¹⁹ whereas all emperors before him were only saluted. He put ornaments of precious stones on his dress and shoes, when the imperial distinction had previously been only in the purple robe, the rest of the habit being the same as that of other men.

XXVII

But Herculus was undisguisedly cruel, and of a violent temper, and showed his severity of disposition in the sternness of his looks. Gratifying his own inclination, he joined with Diocletian in even the most cruel of his proceedings. But when Diocletian, as age bore heavily upon him, felt himself unable to sustain the government of the empire, he suggested to Herculus that they should both retire into private life, and commit the duty of upholding the state to more vigorous and youthful hands. With this suggestion his colleague reluctantly complied. Both of them, in the same day, exchanged the robe of empire for an ordinary dress, Diocletian at Nicomedia, Herculus at Milan,

soon after a magnificent triumph which they celebrated at Rome over several nations, with a noble succession of pictures,²⁰ and in which the wives, sisters, and children of Narseus were led before their chariots. The one then retired to Salonaë, and the other into Lucania.

XXVIII

Diocletian lived to an old age in a private station, at a villa which is not far from Salonaë, in honourable retirement, exercising extraordinary philosophy, inasmuch as he alone of all men, since the foundation of the Roman empire, voluntarily returned from so high a dignity to the condition of private life, and to an equality with the other citizens. That happened to him, therefore, which had happened to no one since men were created, that, though he died in a private condition, he was enrolled among the gods.

ENDNOTES.

- ¹ In the old sense of the word, as Tzschucke thinks, on account of his victory. He had been made emperor before, as appears from Herodian, vii. 2.
- ² A city of Gallia Transpadana, at the top of the Adriatic.
- ³ *Ambo*. Both Gallus and Volusianus. — Tzschucke.
- ⁴ *Extinctus est*. He was killed by the soldiery, according to Zosimus, i. 29, and Zonaras, xii. 22.
- ⁵ A town of Lower Pannonia, on the river Drave. Cellar. Geog. Ant. ii. 8, 27.
- ⁶ *Vilissimus opifex*. Victor de Caes. 33, 9, calls him *ferri opifex*, a worker in iron.
- ⁷ A town of the Ubii, so called because Agrippina was born there. It is now *Cologne*.
- ⁸ In Gallia Belgica, Amm. Marcell. xv. 11, now, as Tzschucke thinks, *Chalons sur Marne*.
- ⁹ See c. 10.
- ¹⁰ Tacitus made it his care to put the assassins to death. Vopisc. Vit. Tacit, c. 13; Aurel. Vict. Epit. c. 36.
- ¹¹ A town in Upper Moesia, between the Danube and the Margus or Morava.
- ¹² A name of uncertain signification, but supposed, says Tzschucke, to mean rebels or robbers.
- ¹³ Cellarius thinks that they may be the same as the Pentapolitani, that is, the Cyrenaeans, Cyrenaica comprising five cities, Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Cyrene.
- ¹⁴ King of Persia; more frequently written Narses.
- ¹⁵ The emperor mentioned in c. 11. Constantius was the grandson of Crispus, Claudius's brother.
- ¹⁶ The metropolis of Dacia Mediterranea; thought to be the same as the present *Sofia* in Bulgaria.
- ¹⁷ *Apud Lingonas*. Lingonae, or Lingones, the chief town of the Lingones in Gaul, previously

called Andomatunum; now *Langres*.

¹⁸ The *speculatores*, under the emperors, were a body of troops attached to the praetorian cohorts, or perhaps forming part of them, and having the care of the emperor's person. *Ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum lecta corpora, cum caeleris praetoriis cohortibus*. Tac. Hist, ii 11.

¹⁹ *Adorari*. See C. Nep. life of Conon, c. 3.

²⁰ *Pompa ferculorum illustri*. *Fercula* are representations of cities, rivers, and other objects in the conquered countries, carried in procession at a triumph, in imitation of Romulus, who carried the spoils of a slain enemy *suspensa ferculo*, Liv. i. 10. — Tzschucke. *Ferculum* was a kind of frame in which anything might be carried or suspended.

BOOK X

Division of the empire between Constantius and Galerius, Maximin and Severus being Caesars, I. — Constantine made emperor in Britain, and Maxentius, son of Maximian, at Rome; Maximian attempts to regain the throne; failure of Severus against Maxentius, II. — Subsequent efforts of Maximian; his death and character, III. — Four emperors at once, Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius, and Maximin, Maxentius overthrown by Constantine; death of Maximin, IV. — Licinius defeated by Constantine, who becomes sole emperor, and makes three Caesars, V. VI. — Character and death of Constantine, VII. VIII. — He is succeeded by three sons and a nephew, Constantine, Constantine, Constans, and Dalmatius; Constantius survives them all, and becomes sole emperor, suppressing Veteranio and Nepotian, IX.-XI. — Overthrow and death of Magnentius; Gallus made Caesar, XII. — Deaths of Gallus and Sylvanus, XIII. — Julian sent to Gaul by Constantius with the authority of Caesar; his successes, XIV. — Julian made emperor; death and character of Constantius, XV. — Julian's expedition to the east; his death and character, XVI. — Jovian made emperor in the east; his ill-fortune; he cedes a portion of the Roman territory to Sapor; his death, and the supposed causes of it, XVII. XVIII.

I

THESE emperors, then, having retired from the government of the state, CONSTANTIUS and GALERIUS were made emperors; and the Roman world was divided between them in such a manner, that Constantius had Gaul, Italy, and Africa; Galerius Illyricum, Asia, and the East; two Caesars being joined with them. Constantius, however, content with the dignity of emperor, declined the care of governing Africa. He was an excellent man, of extreme benevolence, who studied to increase the resources of the provinces and of private persons, cared but little for the improvement of the public treasury, and used to say that “it was better for the national wealth to be in the hands of individuals than to be laid up in one place of confinement.” So moderate was the furniture of his house, too, that if, on holidays, he had to entertain a greater number of friends than ordinary, his dining-rooms were set out with the plate of private persons, borrowed from their several houses. By the Gauls¹ he was not only beloved but venerated, especially because, under his government, they had escaped the suspicious prudence of Diocletian, and the sanguinary rashness of Maximian. He died in Britain, at York, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and was enrolled among the gods.

II

Galerius, a man of excellent moral character, and skilful in military affairs, finding that Italy, by Constantius's permission, was put under his government, created two Caesars, MAXIMIN, whom he appointed over the east, and SEVERUS, to whom he committed Italy. He himself resided in Illyricum. But after the death of Constantius, CONSTANTINE, his son by a wife of obscure birth, was made emperor in Britain, and succeeded his father as a most desirable ruler. In the meantime the praetorian guards at Rome, having risen in insurrection, declared MAXENTIUS, the son of Maximian Herculius, who lived in the *Villa Publica*² not far from the city, emperor. At the news of this proceeding, Maximian, filled with hopes of regaining the imperial dignity, which he had not willingly resigned, hurried to Rome from Lucania, (which, on retiring into private life, he had chosen for his place of residence, spending his old age in a most delightful country), and stimulated Diocletian by letters to resume the authority that he had laid down, letters which Diocletian utterly disregarded. Severus Caesar, being despatched to Rome by Galerius to suppress the rising of the guards and Maxentius, arrived there with his army, but, as he was laying siege to the city, was deserted through the treachery of his soldiers.

III

The power of Maxentius was thus increased, and his government established. Severus, taking to flight, was killed at Eavenna. Maximian Herculius, attempting afterwards, in an assembly of the army, to divest his son Maxentius of his power, met with nothing but mutiny and reproaches from the soldiery. He then set out for Gaul, on a planned stratagem, as if he had been driven away by his son, that he might join his son-in-law Constantine,³ designing, however, if he could find an opportunity, to cut off Constantine, who was ruling in Gaul with great approbation both of the soldiers and the people of the province, having overthrown the Franks and Alemanni with great slaughter, and captured their kings, whom, on exhibiting a magnificent show of games, he exposed to wild beasts. But the plot being made known by Maximian's daughter Fausta, who communicated the design to her husband, Maximian was cut off at Marseilles, whence he was preparing to sail to join his son, and died a well-deserved death; for he was a man inclined to every kind of cruelty and severity, faithless, perverse, and utterly void of

consideration for others.

IV

At this time LICINIUS, a native of Dacia, was made emperor by Galerius, to whom he was known by old companionship, and recommended by his vigorous efforts and services in the war which he had conducted against Narseus. The death of Galerius followed immediately afterwards. The empire was then held by the four new emperors, Constantine and Maxentius, sons of emperors, Licinius and Maximian, sons of undistinguished men. Constantine, however, in the fifth year of his reign, commenced a civil war with Maxentius, routed his forces in several battles, and at last overthrew Maxentius himself (when he was spreading death among the nobility by every possible kind of cruelty),⁴ at the Milvian bridge, and made himself master of Italy. Not long after, too, Maximin, after commencing hostilities against Licinius in the east, anticipated the destruction that was falling upon him by an accidental death at Tarsus.

V

CONSTANTINE, being a man of great energy, bent upon effecting whatever he had settled in his mind, and aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole world, proceeded to make war on Licinius, although he had formed a connexion with him by marriage,⁵ for his sister Constantia was married to Licinius. And first of all he overthrew him, by a sudden attack, at Cibalae in Pannonia, where he was making vast preparations for war; and after becoming master of Dardania, Maesia, and Macedonia, took possession also of several other provinces.

VI

There were then various contests between them, and peace made and broken. At last Licinius, defeated in a battle at Nicomedia by sea and land, surrendered himself, and, in violation of an oath taken by Constantine, was put to death, after being divested of the purple, at Thessalonica.

At this time the Roman empire fell under the sway of one emperor and three Caesars, a state of things which had never existed before; the sons of Constantine ruling over Gaul, the east, and Italy. But the pride of prosperity

caused Constantine greatly to depart from his former agreeable mildness of temper. Falling first upon his own relatives, he put to death his son, an excellent man; his sister's son, a youth of amiable disposition; soon afterwards his wife, and subsequently many of his friends.

VII

He was a man, who, in the beginning of his reign, might have been compared to the best princes; in the latter part of it, only to those of a middling character. Innumerable good qualities of mind and body were apparent in him; he was exceedingly ambitious of military glory, and had great success in his wars; a success, however, not more than proportioned to his exertions. After he had terminated the Civil war, he also overthrew the Goths on various occasions, granting them at last peace, and leaving on the minds of the barbarians a strong remembrance of his kindness. He was attached to the arts of peace and to liberal studies, and was ambitious of honourable popularity, which he, indeed, sought by every kind of liberality and obligingness. Though he was slow, from suspicion, to serve some of his friends,⁶ yet he was exceedingly generous towards others, neglecting no opportunity to add to their riches and honours.

VIII

He enacted many laws, some good and equitable, but most of them superfluous, and some severe. He was the first that endeavoured to raise the city named after him⁷ to such a height as to make it a rival to Rome. As he was preparing for war against the Parthians, who were then disturbing Mesopotamia, he died in the Villa Publica,⁸ at Nicomedia, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-sixth of his age. His death was foretold by a star with a tail, which shone for a long time, of extraordinary size, and which the Greeks call a *komh&thj*. He was deservedly enrolled among the gods.

IX

He left for his successors three sons and one nephew, the son of his brother. But DALMATIUS CAESAR, a man of happy genius, and not unlike his brother, was soon after cut off by a mutiny among the soldiers, Constantius,

his cousin, sanctioning the act, rather than commanding it. The officers of Constans also put to death CONSTANTINE, when he was making war upon his brother, and had rashly commenced an engagement at Aquileia. Thus the government was left in the hands of two emperors. The rule of CONSTANS was for some time energetic and just, but afterwards, falling into ill-health, and being swayed by ill-designing friends, he indulged in great vices; and, becoming intolerable to the people of the provinces, and unpopular with the soldiery, was killed by a party headed by Magnentius. He died not far from the borders of Spain, in a fortress named Helena, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the thirtieth of his age; yet not till he had performed many gallant actions in the field, and had made himself feared by the army through the whole course of his life, though without exercising any extraordinary severity.

X

The fortune of CONSTANTIUS was different; for he suffered many grievous calamities at the hands of the Persians, his towns being often taken, his walled cities besieged, and his troops cut off. Nor had he a single successful engagement with Sapor, except that, at Singara, when victory might certainly have been his, he lost it, through the irrepressible eagerness of his men, who, contrary to the practice of war, mutinously and foolishly called for battle when the day was declining. After the death of Constans, when MAGNENTIUS held the government of Italy, Africa, and Gaul, Illyricum also felt some new commotions, VETRANIO being elected to the throne by a combination of the soldiery, whom they made emperor when he was very old and universally popular from the length and success of his service in the field; an upright man, of morality severe as that of the ancients, and of an agreeable unassumingness of manner, but so ignorant of all polite learning, that he did not even acquire the first rudiments of literature until he was old and had become emperor.

XI

But the imperial authority was snatched from Vetricio by Constantius, who stirred up a civil war to avenge his brother's death; Vetricio being compelled, with the consent of the soldiers, and, by a new and extraordinary proceeding,

to divest himself of the purple. There was at the same time an insurrection at Rome, Nepotianus, a son of Constantine's sister, endeavouring to secure the throne with the aid of a body of gladiators; but he met with an end such as his savage attempts merited, for he was cut off on the twenty-eighth day of his usurpation by the officers of Magnentius, and paid the penalty of his rashness. His head was carried through the city on a lance; and dreadful proscriptions and massacres of the nobility ensued.

XII

Not long afterwards Magnentius was overthrown in a battle at Mursa,⁹ and nearly taken prisoner. Vast forces of the Roman empire were cut off in that struggle, sufficient for any foreign wars, and for procuring many triumphs, and a lasting peace. Soon after, GALLUS, his uncle's son, was appointed by Constantius, as Caesar, over the east; and Magnentius, being defeated in several battles, put an end to his life at Lyons, in the third year and seventh month of his reign, as did also his brother at Sens,¹⁰ whom he had sent as Caesar to defend Gaul.

XIII

About this time the Caesar Gallus, after committing many tyrannical acts, was put to death by Constantius. Gallus was a man naturally cruel, and too much inclined to tyranny, if he could but have reigned in his own right Silvanus also, who attempted an insurrection in Gaul, was cut off before the end of thirty days; and Constantius then remained sole ruler and emperor over the Roman dominions.

XIV

He then sent into Gaul, with the authority of Caesar, his cousin Julian, the brother of Gallus, giving him his sister in marriage, at a time when the barbarians had stormed many towns and were besieging others, when there was every where direful devastation, and when the Roman empire was tottering in evident distress. But by Julian, with but a moderate force, vast numbers of the Alemanni were cut off at Strasburg, a city of Gaul; their distinguished king was taken prisoner, and Gaul recovered. Many other

honourable achievements, too, were afterwards performed by Julian against the barbarians, the Germans being driven beyond the Rhine, and the Roman empire extended to its former limits.

XV

Not long after, when the German armies were withdrawing from the defence of Gaul, JULIAN was made emperor by the unanimous consent of the army, and, after the lapse of a year, went to take the government of Illyricum, while Constantius was engaged in the war with Parthia. Constantius, hearing what had occurred, and returning to the civil strife, died on his march between Cilicia and Cappadocia, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his age, and was deservedly enrolled among the gods. He was a man of a remarkably tranquil disposition, good-natured, trusting too much to his friends and courtiers, and at last too much in the power of his wives. He conducted himself with great moderation in the commencement of his reign; he enriched his friends, and suffered none, whose active services he had experienced, to go unrewarded. He was however somewhat inclined to severity, whenever any suspicion of an attempt on the government was excited in him; otherwise he was gentle. His fortune is more to be praised in civil than in foreign wars.

XVI

Julian then became sole emperor, and made war, with a vast force, upon the Parthians; in which expedition I was also present. Several towns and fortresses of the Persians he induced to surrender, or took them by storm; and, having laid waste Assyria, fixed his camp for some time at Ctesiphon. As he was returning victorious, and mingling rashly in the thick of a battle, he was killed by the hand of an enemy, on the 26th of June, in the seventh year of his reign, and the thirty-second of his age, and was enrolled among the gods. He was a remarkable man, and one that would have governed the empire with honour, if he had but been permitted by the fates. He was eminently accomplished in liberal branches of knowledge, but better read in the literature of the Greeks, so much so indeed that his Latin was by no means comparable to his Greek learning. He was possessed of great and ready eloquence, and of a most tenacious memory. In some respects he was more

like a philosopher than a prince. Towards his friends he was liberal, yet less discriminating as to the objects of his generosity than became so great an emperor; for there were some of them that cast a stain on his glory. To the people of the provinces he was most just, and remitted the taxes on them as far as was possible. He was indulgent towards all men; he felt no great anxiety about the public treasury; but of glory he was a great lover, and manifested even an intemperate desire for the attainment of it. He was a persecutor of the Christian religion, yet so that he abstained from shedding blood. He was not unlike Marcus Antoninus, whom he even studied to rival.

XVII

After him JOVIAN, who attended him in the expedition as one of his body-guard, was chosen by the suffrages of the soldiers to fill the throne; a man better known to the army by the fame of his father than by his own. As affairs were now in confusion, and the army distressed for want of provisions, Jovian, after being defeated in one or two battles by the Persians, made peace with Sapor, a peace which was necessary indeed, but ignominious, for he was obliged to contract his boundaries, a portion of the Roman dominions being ceded to the enemy; a disgrace which had never occurred, before his time, since the Roman empire had been founded, during a space of one thousand one hundred and eighteen years. And though our legions were made to pass under the yoke, both at Caudium by Pontus Telesinus,¹¹ at Numantia in Spain, and in Numidia, yet no part of the Roman territory was given up on any of those occasions. Such terms would not have been altogether reprehensible, if he had been resolved, when it should be in his power, to throw off the obligation of the treaty, as was done by the Romans in all the wars that I have mentioned; for war was immediately after made upon the Samnites, Numantines, and Numidians, and the peace was never ratified. But being in dread, as long as he remained in the east, of a rival for the imperial dignity, he thought too little of his glory. After marching from thence, accordingly, and directing his course towards Illyricum, he died suddenly on the borders of Galatia. He was a man, in other parts of his conduct, deficient neither in energy nor understanding,

XVIII

Many think that he was carried off by a violent fit of indigestion, for he had indulged in delicacies at supper; others suppose that he died of the odour of his chamber, which, from a recent plastering of lime, was dangerous to such as slept in it; others imagine that he fell a victim to the overpowering effects of charcoal, which he had ordered to be burnt in great abundance on account of the extreme cold. He died in the seventh month of his reign, on the 18th of April, in the thirty-third year of his age,¹² and, by the kindness of the emperors that succeeded him, was enrolled among the gods; for he was inclined to equity, and liberal by nature.

Such was the state of the Roman empire in the consulship of the Emperor Jovian and Varronianus, in the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen from the foundation of the city. But as we have now come to illustrious and venerable princes, we shall here fix a limit to the present part of our work; for the things that remain must be told in a more elevated style; and we do not, for the present, so much omit them, as reserve them for higher efforts in writing.

ENDNOTES.

¹ He had reserved Gaul for his own peculiar province. — Tzschucke.

² A building in the Campus Martius, intended chiefly as a lodging-house or hotel for ambassadors from foreign nations.

³ Who was married to Maximian's daughter Fausta.

⁴ *Adversus nobiles omnibus exitiis saevientem*. "Raging against the nobles with every kind of destruction."

⁵ *Necessitudo illi et affinitas cum eo esset*. He had a *necessitudo* or relationship with him, which relationship was an *affinitas*, or alliance by marriage. *Affinitas* is added, as Tzschucke observes, to explain *necessitudo*, which, consequently, might very well be omitted.

⁶ *In nonnullis amicos dubius*. I have translated this phrase in conformity with the explanation of the old interpreter in Io. Antiochenus.

⁷ Constantinople.

⁸ A building similar to the one at Rome mentioned in c. 2.

⁹ See ix. 8.

¹⁰ *Senonis*. The ablative case of *Senoni*, *-orum*, previously called *Agenticum*, now *Sens*.

¹¹ This Pontius is not generally called Telesinus; the other Pontius, who was distinguished as leader of the Samnites in the Social war, had that name. See Florus, iii. 18.

¹² The words *ut qui plurimum minimumque tradunt*, which occur here, are not translated. See note on i.1. [H.W.Bird includes it here, translating it: "according to those who give the upper or lower limits" — RP]

The Latin Text



The region of Parthia within the empire of Medes, c. 600 BC, from a historical atlas illustrated by William Robert Shepherd — Eutropius accompanied Julian the Apostate on his expedition against the Parthians in 363.

Contents of Latin Text



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Latin text of Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae Romanae*. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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PRAEFATIO

DOMINO VALENTI GOTHICO MAXIMO PERPETUO AUGUSTO
EUTROPIUS V. C. MAGISTER MEMORIAE.

Res Romanas ex voluntate mansuetudinis tuae ab urbe condita ad nostram memoriam, quae in negotiis vel bellicis vel civilibus eminebant, per ordinem temporum brevi narratione collegi, strictim additis etiam his, quae in principum vita egregia extiterunt, ut tranquillitatis tuae possit mens divina laetari prius se inlustrium virorum facta in administrando imperio secutam, quam cognosceret lectione.

LIBER I

1

Romanum imperium, quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus neque incrementis toto orbe amplius humana potest memoria recordari, a Romulo exordium habet, qui Reae Silviae, Vestalis virginis, filius et, quantum putatus est, Martis cum Remo fratre uno partu editus est. Is cum inter pastores latrocinaretur, decem et octo annos natus urbem exiguam in Palatino monte constituit XI Kal. Maias, Olympiadis sextae anno tertio, post Troiae excidium, ut qui plurimum minimumque tradunt, anno trecentesimo nonagesimo quarto.

2

Condita civitate, quam ex nomine suo Romam vocavit, haec fere egit. Multitudinem finitimorum in civitatem recepit, centum ex senioribus legit, quorum consilio omnia ageret, quos senatores nominavit propter senectutem. Tum, cum uxores ipse et populus suus non haberent, invitavit ad spectaculum ludorum vicinas urbi Romae nationes atque earum virgines rapuit. Commotis bellis propter raptarum iniuriam Caeninenses vicit, Antemnates, Crustuminos, Sabinos, Fidenates, Veientes. Haec omnia oppida urbem cingunt. Et cum orta subito tempestate non comparuisset, anno regni tricesimo septimo ad deos transisse creditus est et consecratus. Deinde Romae per quinos dies senatores imperaverunt et his regnantibus annus unus completus est.

3

Postea Numa Pompilius rex creatus est, qui bellum quidem nullum gessit, sed non minus civitati quam Romulus profuit. Nam et leges Romanis moresque constituit, qui consuetudine proeliorum iam latrones ac semibarbari putabantur, et annum descripsit in decem menses prius sine aliqua supputatione confusum, et infinita Romae sacra ac templa constituit. Morbo decessit quadragesimo et tertio imperii anno.

4

Huic successit Tullus Hostilius. Hic bella reparavit, Albanos vicit, qui ab urbe

Roma duodecimo miliario sunt, Veientes et Fidenates, quorum alii sexto miliario absunt ab urbe Roma, alii octavo decimo, bello superavit, urbem ampliavit, adiecto Caelio monte. Cum triginta et duos annos regnasset, fulmine ictus cum domo sua arsit.

5

Post hunc Ancus Marcius, Numae ex filia nepos, suscepit imperium. Contra Latinos dimicavit, Aventinum montem civitati adiecit et Janiculum, apud ostium Tiberis civitatem supra mare sexto decimo miliario ab urbe Roma condidit. Vicesimo et quarto anno imperii morbo periit.

6

Deinde regnum Priscus Tarquinius accepit. Hic numerum senatorum duplicavit, circum Romae aedificavit, ludos Romanos instituit, qui ad nostram memoriam permanent. Vicit idem etiam Sabinos et non parum agrorum sublatum isdem urbis Romae territorio iunxit, primusque triumphans urbem intravit. Muros fecit et cloacas, Capitolium inchoavit. Tricesimo octavo imperii anno per Anci filios occisus est, regis eius, cui ipse successerat.

7

Post hunc Servius Tullius suscepit imperium, genitus ex nobili femina, captiva tamen et ancilla. Hic quoque Sabinos subegit, montes tres, Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinum, urbi adiunxit, fossas circum murum duxit. Primus omnium censum ordinavit, qui adhuc per orbem terrarum incognitus erat. Sub eo Roma omnibus in censum delatis habuit capita LXXXIII milia civium Romanorum cum his, qui in agris erant. Occisus est scelere generi sui Tarquini Superbi, filii eius regis, cui ipse successerat, et filiae, quam Tarquinius habebat uxorem.

8

L. Tarquinius Superbus, septimus atque ultimus regum, Volscos, quae gens ad Campaniam euntibus non longe ab urbe est, vicit, Gabios civitatem et Suessam Pometiam subegit, cum Tuscis pacem fecit et templum Jovis in Capitolio aedificavit. Postea Ardeam oppugnans, in octavo decimo miliario ab

urbe Roma positam civitatem, imperium perdidit. Nam cum filius eius, et ipse Tarquinius iunior, nobilissimam feminam Lucretiam eandemque pudicissimam, Collatini uxorem, stuprasset eaque de iniuria marito et patri et amicis questa fuisset, in omnium conspectu se occidit. Propter quam causam Brutus, parens et ipse Tarquinius, populum concitavit et Tarquinio ademit imperium. Mox exercitus quoque eum, qui civitatem Ardeam cum ipso rege oppugnabat, reliquit; veniensque ad urbem rex portis clausis exclusus est, cumque imperasset annos quattuor et viginti cum uxore et liberis suis fugit. Ita Romae regnatum est per septem reges annis ducentis quadraginta tribus, cum adhuc Roma, ubi plurimum, vix usque ad quintum decimum miliarium possideret.

9

Hinc consules coepere, pro uno rege duo, hac causa creati, ut, si unus malus esse voluisset, alter eum, habens potestatem similem, coerceret. Et placuit, ne imperium longius quam annum haberent, ne per diuturnitatem potestatis insolentiores redderentur, sed civiles semper essent, qui se post annum scirent futuros esse privatos. Fuerunt igitur anno primo ab expulsis regibus consules L. Iunius Brutus, qui maxime egerat, ut Tarquinius pelleretur, et Tarquinius Collatinus, maritus Lucretiae. Sed Tarquinio Collatino statim sublata est dignitas. Placuerat enim, ne quisquam in urbe remaneret, qui Tarquinius vocaretur. Ergo accepto omni patrimonio suo ex urbe migravit, et loco ipsius factus est L. Valerius Publicola consul. Commovit tamen bellum urbi Romae rex Tarquinius, qui fuerat expulsus, et collectis multis gentibus, ut in regnum posset restitui, dimicavit.

10

In prima pugna Brutus consul et Arruns, Tarquinius filius, in vicem se occiderunt, Romani tamen ex ea pugna victores recesserunt. Brutum matronae Romanae, defensorem pudicitiae suae, quasi communem patrem per annum luxerunt. Valerius Publicola Sp. Lucretium Tricipitinum collegam sibi fecit, Lucretiae patrem, quo morbo mortuo iterum Horatium Pulvillum collegam sibi sumpsit. Ita primus annus quinque consules habuit, cum Tarquinius Collatinus propter nomen urbe cessisset, Brutus in proelio perisset, Sp. Lucretius morbo mortuus esset.

Secundo quoque anno iterum Tarquinius ut reciperetur in regnum bellum Romanis intulit, auxilium ei ferente Porsenna, Tusciae rege, et Romam paene cepit. Verum tum quoque victus est. Tertio anno post reges exactos Tarquinius, cum suscipi non posset in regnum neque ei Porsenna, qui pacem cum Romanis fecerat, praestaret auxilium, Tusculum se contulit, quae civitas non longe ab urbe est, atque ibi per quattuordecim annos privatus cum uxore consenuit. Quarto anno post reges exactos, cum Sabini Romanis bellum intulissent, victi sunt et de his triumphatum est. Quinto anno L. Valerius ille, Bruti collega et quater consul, fataliter mortuus est, adeo pauper, ut, collatis a populo nummis, sumptum habuerit sepulturae. Quem matronae sicuti Brutum annum luxerunt.

Nono anno post reges exactos, cum gener Tarquini ad iniuriam soceri vindicandam ingentem collegisset exercitum, nova Romae dignitas est creata, quae dictatura appellatur, maior quam consulatus. Eodem anno etiam magister equitum factus est, qui dictatori obsequeretur. Neque quicquam similis potest dici quam dictatura antiqua huic imperii potestati, quam nunc tranquillitas vestra habet, maxime cum Augustus quoque Octavianus, de quo postea dicemus, et ante eum C. Caesar sub dictaturae nomine atque honore regnaverint. Dictator autem Romae primus fuit T. Larcus, magister equitum primus Sp. Cassius.

Sexto decimo anno post reges exactos seditionem populus Romae fecit, tamquam a senatu atque consulibus premeretur. Tum et ipse sibi tribunus plebis quasi proprios iudices et defensores creavit, per quos contra senatum et consules tutus esse posset.

Sequenti anno Volsci contra Romanos bellum reparaverunt, et victi acie etiam Coriolos civitatem, quam habebant optimam, perdiderunt.

Octavo decimo anno postquam reges eiecti erant expulsus ex urbe Q. Marcius, dux Romanus, qui Coriolos ceperat, Volscorum civitatem, ad ipsos Volscos contendit iratus et auxilia contra Romanos accepit. Romanos saepe vicit, usque ad quintum miliarium urbis accessit, oppugnaturus etiam patriam suam, legatis qui pacem petebant, repudiatis, nisi ad eum mater Veturia et uxor Volumnia ex urbe venissent, quarum fletu et deprecatione superatus removit exercitum. Atque hic secundus post Tarquinium fuit, qui dux contra patriam suam esset.

C. Fabio et L. Virginio consulibus trecenti nobiles homines, qui ex Fabia familia erant, contra Veientes bellum soli susceperunt, promittentes senatui et populo per se omne certamen implendum. Itaque profecti, omnes nobiles et qui singuli magnorum exercituum duces esse deberent, in proelio conciderunt. Unus omnino superfuit ex tanta familia, qui propter aetatem puerilem duci non potuerat ad pugnam. Post haec census in urbe habitus est et inventa sunt civium capita CXVII milia CCCXIX.

Sequenti anno cum in Algido monte ab urbe duodecimo ferme miliario Romanus obsideretur exercitus, L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator est factus, qui agrum quattuor iugerum possidens manibus suis colebat. Is cum in opere et arans esset inventus, sudore deterso togam praetextam accepit et caesis hostibus liberavit exercitum.

Anno trecentesimo et altero ab urbe condita imperium consulare cessavit et pro duobus consulibus decem facti sunt, qui summam potestatem haberent, decemviri nominati. Sed cum primo anno bene egissent, secundo unus ex his, Ap. Claudius, Virginii cuiusdam, qui honestis iam stipendiis contra Latinos in monte Algido militarat, filiam virginem corrumpere voluit; quam pater occidit, ne stuprum a decemviro sustineret, et regressus ad milites movit tumultum. Sublata est decemviris potestas ipsique damnati sunt.

Anno trecentesimo et quinto decimo ab urbe condita Fidenates contra Romanos rebellaverunt. Auxilium his praestabant Veientes et rex Veientium Tolumnius. Quae ambae civitates tam vicinae urbi sunt, ut Fidenae sexto, Veii octavo decimo miliario absint. Coniunxerunt se his et Volsci. Sed Mam. Aemilio dictatore et L. Quintio Cincinnato magistro equitum victi etiam regem perdidērunt. Fidenae captae et excisae.

Post viginti deinde annos Veientani rebellaverunt. Dictator contra ipsos missus est Furius Camillus, qui primum eos vicit acie, mox etiam civitatem diu obsidens cepit, antiquissimam Italiaeque ditissimam. Post eam cepit et Faliscos, non minus nobilem civitatem. Sed commota est ei invidia, quasi praedam male divisisset, damnatusque ob eam causam et expulsus civitate. Statim Galli Senones ad urbem venerunt et victos Romanos undecimo miliario a Roma apud flumen Alliam secuti etiam urbem occupaverunt. Neque defendi quicquam nisi Capitolium potuit; quod cum diu obsedissent et iam Romani fame laborarent, accepto auro ne Capitolium obsiderent, recesserunt. Sed a Camillo, qui in vicina civitate exulabat, Gallis superventum est gravissimeque victi sunt. Postea tamen etiam secutus eos Camillus ita cecidit, ut et aurum, quod his datum fuerat, et omnia, quae ceperant, militaria signa revocaret. Ita tertio triumphans urbem ingressus est et appellatus secundus Romulus, quasi et ipse patriae conditor.

LIBER II

1

Anno trecentesimo sexagesimo quinto ab urbe condita, post captam autem primo, dignitates mutatae sunt, et pro duobus consulibus facti tribuni militares consulari potestate. Hinc iam coepit Romana res crescere. Nam Camillus eo anno Volscorum civitatem, quae per septuaginta annos bellum gesserat, vicit et Aequorum urbem et Sutrinorum atque omnibus deletis earundem exercitibus occupavit et tres simul triumphos egit.

2

T. etiam Quintius Cincinnatus Praenestinos, qui usque ad urbis Romae portas cum bello venerant, persecutus ad flumen Alliam vicit, octo civitates, quae sub ipsis agebant, Romanis adiunxit, ipsum Praeneste adgressus in deditionem accepit. Quae omnia ab eo gesta sunt viginti diebus, triumphusque ipsi decretus.

3

Verum dignitas tribunorum militarium non diu perseveravit. Nam post aliquantum nullos placuit fieri et quadriennium in urbe ita fluxit, ut potestates ibi maiores non essent. Praesumpserunt tamen tribuni militares consulari potestate iterum dignitatem et triennio perseveraverunt. Rursus consules facti.

4

L. Genucio et Q. Servilio consulibus mortuus est Camillus. Honor ei post Romulum secundus delatus est.

5

T. Quintius dictator adversus Gallos, qui ad Italiam venerant, missus est. Hi ab urbe quarto miliario trans Anienem fluvium consederant. Ibi nobilissimus de senatoribus iuvenis L. Manlius provocantem Gallum ad singulare certamen progressus occidit, et sublato torque aureo colloque suo inposito in perpetuum Torquati et sibi et posteris cognomen accepit. Galli fugati sunt, mox per C.

Sulpicium dictatorem etiam victi. Non multo post a C. Marcio Tusci victi sunt et octo milia captivorum ex his in triumphum ducta.

6

Census iterum habitus est. Et cum Latini, qui a Romanis subacti erant, milites praestare nollent, ex Romanis tantum tirones lecti sunt, factaeque legiones decem, qui modus sexaginta vel amplius armatorum milia efficiebat. Parvis adhuc Romanis rebus tanta tamen in re militari virtus erat. Quae cum profectae essent adversum Gallos duce L. Furio, quidam ex Gallis unum ex Romanis, qui esset optimus, provocavit. Tum se M. Valerius tribunus militum obtulit, et cum processisset armatus, corvus ei supra dextrum brachium sedit. Mox commissa adversum Gallum pugna idem corvus alis et unguibus Galli oculos verberavit, ne rectum posset aspicere. Ita a tribuno Valerio interfectus. Corvus non solum victoriam ei, sed etiam nomen dedit. Nam postea idem Corvinus est dictus. Ac propter hoc meritum annorum trium et viginti consul est factus.

7

Latini, qui noluerant milites dare, hoc quoque a Romanis exigere coeperunt, ut unus consul ex eorum, alter ex Romanorum populo crearetur. Quod cum esset negatum, bellum contra eos susceptum est et ingenti pugna superati sunt; ac de his perdomitis triumphatum est. Statuae consulibus ob meritum victoriae in Rostris positae sunt. Eo anno etiam Alexandria ab Alexandro Macedone condita est.

8

Iam Romani potentes esse coeperunt. Bellum enim in centesimo et tricesimo fere miliario ab urbe apud Samnitas gerebatur, qui medii sunt inter Picenum, Campaniam et Apuliam. L. Papirius Cursor cum honore dictatoris ad id bellum profectus est. Qui cum Romam rediret, Q. Fabio Maximo, magistro equitum, quem apud exercitum reliquit, praecepit, ne se absente pugnaret. Ille occasione reperta felicissime dimicavit et Samnitas delevit. Ob quam rem a dictatore capitis damnatus, quod se vetante pugnasset, ingenti favore militum et populi liberatus est tanta Papirio seditione commota, ut paene ipse

Postea Samnites Romanos T. Veturio et Sp. Postumio consulibus ingenti dedecore vicerunt et sub iugum miserunt. Pax tamen a senatu et populo soluta est, quae cum ipsis propter necessitatem facta fuerat. Postea Samnites victi sunt a L. Papirio consule, septem milia eorum sub iugum missa. Papirius primus de Samnitibus triumphavit. Eo tempore Ap. Claudius censor aquam Claudiam induxit et viam Appiam stravit. Samnites reparato bello Q. Fabium Maximum vicerunt tribus milibus hominum occisis. Postea, cum pater ei Fabius Maximus legatus datus fuisset, et Samnitas vicit et plurima ipsorum oppida cepit. Deinde P. Cornelius Rufinus M. Curius Dentatus, ambo consules, contra Samnitas missi ingentibus proeliis eos confecere. Tum bellum cum Samnitibus per annos quadraginta novem actum sustulerunt. Neque ullus hostis fuit intra Italiam, qui Romanam virtutem magis fatigaverit.

Interiectis aliquot annis iterum se Gallorum copiae contra Romanos Tuscis Samnitibusque iunxerunt, sed cum Romam tenderent, a Cn. Cornelio Dolabella consule deletae sunt.

Eodem tempore Tarentinis, qui iam in ultima Italia sunt, bellum indictum est, quia legatis Romanorum iniuriam fecissent. Hi Pyrrum, Epiri regem, contra Romanos in auxilium poposcerunt, qui ex genere Achillis originem trahebat. Is mox ad Italiam venit, tumque primum Romani cum transmarino hoste dimicaverunt. Missus est contra eum consul P. Valerius Laevinus, qui cum exploratores Pyrri cepisset, iussit eos per castra duci, ostendi omnem exercitum tumque dimitti, ut renuntiarent Pyrro quaecumque a Romanis agerentur. Commissa mox pugna, cum iam Pyrrus fugeret, elephantorum auxilio vicit, quos incognitos Romani expaverunt. Sed nox proelio finem dedit; Laevinus tamen per noctem fugit, Pyrrus Romanos mille octingentos cepit et eos summo honore tractavit, occisos sepelivit. Quos cum adverso vulnere et truci vultu etiam mortuos iacere vidisset, tulisse ad caelum manus

dicitur cum hac voce: se totius orbis dominum esse potuisse, si tales sibi milites contigissent.

12

Postea Pyrrus, coniunctis sibi Samnitibus, Lucanis, Brittiis, Romam perrexit, omnia ferro ignique vastavit, Campaniam populatus est atque ad Praeneste venit, miliario ab urbe octavo decimo. Mox terrore exercitus, qui eum cum consule sequebatur, in Campaniam se recepit. Legati ad Pyrrum de redimendis captivis missi ab eo honorifice suscepti sunt. Captivos sine pretio Romam misit. Unum ex legatis Romanorum, Fabricium, sic admiratus, cum eum pauperem esse cognovisset, ut quarta parte regni promissa sollicitare voluerit, ut ad se transiret, contemptusque est a Fabricio. Quare cum Pyrrus Romanorum ingenti admiratione teneretur, legatum misit, qui pacem aequis condicionibus peteret, praecipuum virum, Cineam nomine, ita ut Pyrrus partem Italiae, quam iam armis occupaverat, obtineret.

13

Pax displicuit remandatumque Pyrro est a senatu eum cum Romanis, nisi ex Italia recessisset, pacem habere non posse. Tum Romani iusserunt captivos omnes, quos Pyrrus reddiderat, infames haberi, quod armati capi potuissent, nec ante eos ad veterem statum reverti, quam si binorum hostium occisorum spolia retulissent. Ita legatus Pyrri reversus est. A quo cum quaereret Pyrrus, qualem Romam comperisset, Cineas dixit regum se patriam vidisse; scilicet tales illic fere omnes esse, qualis unus Pyrrus apud Epirum et reliquam Graeciam putaretur. Missi sunt contra Pyrrum duces P. Sulpicius et Decius Mus consules. Certamine commisso Pyrrus vulneratus est, elephantis interfecti, viginti milia caesa hostium, et ex Romanis tantum quinque milia; Pyrrus Tarentum fugatus.

14

Interiecto anno contra Pyrrum Fabricius est missus, qui prius inter legatos sollicitari non potuerat, quarta regni parte promissa. Tum, cum vicina castra ipse et rex haberent, medicus Pyrri nocte ad eum venit, promittens veneno se Pyrrum occisurum, si sibi aliquid polliceretur. Quem Fabricius vinctum reduci

iussit ad dominum Pyrroque dici quae contra caput eius medicus spopondisset. Tum rex admiratus eum dixisse fertur: “Ille est Fabricius, qui difficilius ab honestate quam sol a cursu suo averti potest. “ Tum rex ad Siciliam profectus est. Fabricius victis Lucanis et Samnitibus triumphavit. Consules deinde M. Curius Dentatus et Cornelius Lentulus adversum Pyrrum missi sunt. Curius contra eum pugnavit, exercitum eius cecidit, ipsum Tarentum fugavit, castra cepit. Ea die caesa hostium viginti tria milia. Curius in consulatu triumphavit. Primus Romam elephantos quattuor duxit. Pyrrus etiam a Tarento mox recessit et apud Argos, Graeciae civitatem, occisus est.

15

C. Fabio Licinio C. Claudio Canina consulibus anno urbis conditae quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo legati Alexandrini a Ptolomaeo missi Romam venere et a Romanis amicitiam, quam petierant, obtinuerunt.

16

Q. Ogulnio C. Fabio Pictore consulibus Picentes bellum commovere et ab insequentibus consulibus P. Sempronio Ap. Claudio victi sunt; et de his triumphatum est. Conditae a Romanis civitates Ariminum in Gallia et Beneventum in Samnio.

17

M. Atilio Regulo L. Iulio Libone consulibus Sallentinis in Apulia bellum indictum est, captique sunt cum civitate simul Brundisini, et de his triumphatum est.

18

Anno quadringentesimo septuagesimo septimo, cum iam clarum urbis Romae nomen esset, arma tamen extra Italiam mota non fuerant. Ut igitur cognosceretur, quae copiae Romanorum essent, census est habitus. Tum inventa sunt civium capita ducenta nonaginta duo milia trecenta triginta quattuor, quamquam a condita urbe numquam bella cessassent. Et contra Afros bellum susceptum est primum Ap. Claudio Q. Fulvio consulibus. In Sicilia contra eos pugnatum est et Ap. Claudius de Afris et rege Siciliae

Insequenti anno Valerio Marco et Otacilio Crasso consulibus in Sicilia a Romanis res magnae gestae sunt. Tauromenitani, Catinenses et praeterea quinquaginta civitates in fidem acceptae. Tertio anno in Sicilia contra Hieronem, regem Siculorum, bellum paratum est. Is cum omni nobilitate Syracusanorum pacem a Romanis impetravit deditque argenti ducenta talenta. Afri in Sicilia victi sunt et de his secundo Romae triumphatum est.

Quinto anno Punici belli, quod contra Afros gerebatur, primum Romani C. Duillio et Cn. Cornelio Asina consulibus in mari dimicaverunt paratis navibus rostratis, quas Liburnas vocant. Consul Cornelius fraude deceptus est. Duillius commisso proelio Carthaginensium ducem vicit, triginta et unam naves cepit, quattuordecim mersit, septem milia hostium cepit, tria milia occidit. Neque ulla victoria Romanis gratior fuit, quod invicti terra iam etiam mari plurimum possent. C. Aquilio Floro L. Scipione consulibus Scipio Corsicam et Sardiniam vastavit, multa milia inde captivorum adduxit, triumphum egit.

L. Manlio Vulso M. Atilio Regulo consulibus bellum in Africam translatum est. Contra Hamilcarem, Carthaginensium ducem, in mari pugnatum victusque est. Nam perditis sexaginta quattuor navibus retro se recepit. Romani viginti duas amiserunt. Sed cum in Africam transissent, primam Clypeam, Africae civitatem, in deditionem acceperunt. Consules usque ad Carthaginem processerunt multisque castellis vastatis Manlius victor Romam rediit et viginti septem milia captivorum reduxit, Atilius Regulus in Africa remansit. Is contra Afros aciem instruxit. Contra tres Carthaginensium duces dimicans victor fuit, decem et octo milia hostium cecidit, quinque milia cum decem et octo elephantis cepit, septuaginta quattuor civitates in fidem accepit. Tum victi Carthaginenses pacem a Romanis petiverunt. Quam cum Regulus nollet nisi durissimis condicionibus dare, Afri auxilium a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt. Et duce Xanthippo, qui a Lacedaemoniis missus fuerat,

Romanorum dux Regulus victus est ultima pernicie. Nam duo milia tantum ex omni Romano exercitu refugerunt, quingenti cum imperatore Regulo capti sunt, triginta milia occisa, Regulus ipse in catenas coniectus.

22

M. Aemilio Paulo Ser. Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus ambo Romani consules ad Africam profecti sunt cum trecentarum navium classe. Primum Afros navali certamine superant. Aemilius consul centum et quattuor naves hostium demersit, triginta cum pugnatoribus cepit, quindecim milia hostium aut occidit aut cepit, militem suum ingenti praeda ditavit. Et subacta Africa tunc fuisset, nisi quod tanta fames erat, ut diutius exercitus expectare non posset. Consules cum victrici classe redeuntes circa Siciliam naufragium passi sunt. Et tanta tempestas fuit, ut ex quadringentis sexaginta quattuor navibus tantum octoginta servari potuerint; neque ullo tempore tanta maritima tempestas audita est. Romani tamen statim ducentas naves reparaverunt, neque in aliquo animus his infractus fuit.

23

Cn. Servilius Caepio C. Sempronius Blaesus consules cum ducentis sexaginta navibus ad Africam profecti sunt. Aliquot civitates ceperunt. Praedam ingentem reducentes naufragium passi sunt. Itaque cum continuae calamitates Romanis displicerent, decrevit senatus, ut a maritimis proeliis recederetur et tantum sexaginta naves ad praesidium Italiae salvae essent.

24

L. Caecilio Metello C. Furio Placido consulibus Metellus in Sicilia Afrorum ducem cum centum triginta elephantis et magnis copiis venientem superavit, viginti milia hostium cecidit, sex et viginti elephantos cepit, reliquos errantes per Numidas, quos in auxilium habebat, collegit et Romam deduxit ingenti pompa, cum CXXX elephantorum numerus omnia itinera compleret. Post haec mala Carthaginienses Regulum ducem, quem ceperant, petiverunt, ut Romam proficisceretur et pacem a Romanis obtineret ac permutationem captivorum faceret.

25

Ille Romam cum venisset, inductus in senatum nihil quasi Romanus egit, dixitque se ex illa die, qua in potestatem Afrorum venisset, Romanum esse desisse. Itaque et uxorem a complexu removit et senatui suasit, ne pax cum Poenis fieret; illos enim fractos tot casibus spem nullam habere; se tanti non esse, ut tot milia captivorum propter unum se et senem et paucos, qui ex Romanis capti fuerant, redderentur. Itaque obtinuit. Nam Afros pacem petentes nullus admisit. Ipse Carthaginem rediit, offerentibusque Romanis, ut eum Romae tenerent, negavit se in ea urbe mansurum, in qua, postquam Afris servierat, dignitatem honesti civis habere non posset. Regressus igitur ad Africam omnibus suppliciis extinctus est.

26

P. Claudio Pulchro L. Iunio consulibus Claudius contra auspicia pugnavit et a Carthaginiensibus victus est. Nam ex ducentis et viginti navibus cum triginta fugit, nonaginta cum pugnatoribus captae sunt, demersae ceterae. Alius quoque consul naufragio classem amisit, exercitum tamen salvum habuit, quia vicina litora erant.

27

C. Lutatio Catulo A. Postumio Albino consulibus, anno belli Punici vicesimo et tertio Catulo bellum contra Afros commissum est. Profectus est cum trecentis navibus in Siciliam; Afri contra ipsum quadringentas paraverunt. Numquam in mari tantis copiis pugnatum est. Lutatius Catulus navem aeger ascendit; vulneratus enim in pugna superiore fuerat. Contra Lilybaeum, civitatem Siciliae, pugnatum est ingenti virtute Romanorum. Nam LXIII Carthaginiensium naves captae sunt, CXXV demersae, XXXII milia hostium capta, XIII milia occisa, infinitum auri, argenti, praedae in potestatem Romanorum redactum. Ex classe Romana XII naves demersae. Pugnatum est VI Idus Martias. Statim pacem Carthaginienses petiverunt tributaque est his pax. Captivi Romanorum, qui tenebantur a Carthaginiensibus, redditi sunt. Etiam Carthaginienses petiverunt, ut redimi eos captivos liceret, quos ex Afris Romani tenebant. Senatus iussit sine pretio eos dari, qui in publica custodia essent; qui autem a privatis tenerentur, ut pretio dominis reddito Carthaginem redirent atque id pretium ex fisco magis quam a Carthaginiensibus solveretur.

Q. Lutatius A. Manlius consules creati bellum Faliscis intulerunt, quae civitas Italiae opulenta quondam fuit. Quod ambo consules intra sex dies, quam venerant, transegerunt XV milibus hostium caesis, ceteris pace concessa, agro tamen ex medietate sublato.

LIBER III

1

Finito igitur Punico bello, quod per XXIII annos tractum est, Romani iam clarissima gloria noti legatos ad Ptolomaeum, Aegypti regem, miserunt auxilia promittentes, quia rex Syriae Antiochus bellum ei intulerat. Ille gratias Romanis egit, auxilia a Romanis non accepit. Iam enim fuerat pugna transacta. Eodem tempore potentissimus rex Siciliae Hiero Romam venit ad ludos spectandos et ducenta milia modiorum tritici populo donum exhibuit.

2

L. Cornelio Lentulo Fulvio Flacco consulibus, quibus Hiero Romam venerat, etiam contra Ligures intra Italiam bellum gestum est et de his triumphatum. Carthaginienses tamen bellum reparare temptabant, Sardinienses, qui ex condicione pacis Romanis parere debebant, ad rebellandum impellentes. Venit tamen Romam legatio Carthaginensium et pacem impetravit.

3

T. Manlio Torquato C. Atilio Bulco consulibus de Sardis triumphatum est, et pace omnibus locis facta Romani nullum bellum habuerunt, quod his post Romam conditam semel tantum Numa Pompilio regnante contigerat.

4

L. Postumius Albinus Cn. Fulvius Centumalus consules bellum contra Illyrios gesserunt et multis civitatibus captis etiam reges in deditionem acceperunt. Ac tum primum ex Illyriis triumphatum est.

5

L. Aemilio consule ingentes Gallorum copiae Alpes transierunt. Sed pro Romanis tota Italia consensit, traditumque est a Fabio historico, qui ei bello interfuit, DCCC milia hominum parata ad id bellum fuisse. Sed res per consulem tantum prospere gesta est. XL milia hostium interfecta sunt et triumphus Aemilio decretus.

Aliquot deinde annis post contra Gallos intra Italiam pugnatum est, finitumque bellum M. Claudio Marcello et Cn. Cornelio Scipione consulibus. Tum Marcellus cum parva manu equitum dimicavit et regem Gallorum, Viridomarum nomine, manu sua occidit. Postea cum collega ingentes copias Gallorum peremit, Mediolanum expugnavit, grandem praedam Romam pertulit. Ac triumphans Marcellus spolia Galli stipiti inposita umeris suis vexit.

M. Minucio Rufo P. Cornelio consulibus Histris bellum inlatum est, quia latrocinati navibus Romanorum fuerant, quae frumenta exhibebant, perdomitique sunt omnes. Eodem anno bellum Punicum secundum Romanis inlatum est per Hannibalem, Carthaginiensium ducem, qui Saguntum, Hispaniae civitatem Romanis amicam, obpugnare adgressus est, annum agens vicesimum aetatis, copiis congregatis CL milium. Huic Romani per legatos denuntiaverunt, ut bello abstineret. Is legatos admittere noluit. Romani etiam Carthaginem miserunt, ut mandaretur Hannibali, ne bellum contra socios populi Romani gereret. Dura responsa a Carthaginiensibus data sunt. Saguntini interea fame victi sunt, captique ab Hannibale ultimis poenis adficiuntur.

Tum P. Cornelius Scipio cum exercitu in Hispaniam profectus est, Ti. Sempronius in Siciliam, bellum Carthaginiensibus indictum est. Hannibal relicto in Hispania fratre Hasdrubale Pyrenaeum transiit. Alpes, adhuc ea parte invias, sibi patefecit. Traditur ad Italiam LXXX milia peditum, X milia equitum, septem et XXX elephantos adduxisse. Interea multi Ligures et Galli Hannibali se coniunxerunt. Sempronius Gracchus cognito ad Italiam Hannibalis adventu ex Sicilia exercitum Ariminum traiecit.

P. Cornelius Scipio Hannibali primus occurrit. Commisso proelio, fugatis suis ipse vulneratus in castra rediit. Sempronius Gracchus et ipse confligit apud

Trebiam amnem. Is quoque vincitur. Hannibali multi se in Italia dediderunt. Inde ad Tusciam veniens Hannibal Flamini consuli occurrit. Ipsum Flaminium interemit; Romanorum XXV milia caesa sunt, ceteri diffugerunt. Missus adversus Hannibalem postea a Romanis Q. Fabius Maximus. Is eum differendo pugnam ab impetu fregit, mox inventa occasione vicit.

10

Quingentesimo et quadragesimo anno a condita urbe L. Aemilius Paulus P. Terentius Varro contra Hannibalem mittuntur Fabioque succedunt, qui abiens ambo consules monuit, ut Hannibalem, callidum et inpatientem ducem, non aliter vincerent, quam proelium differendo. Verum cum inpatientia Varronis consulis contradicente altero consule === id est Aemilio Paulo ===apud vicum, qui Cannae appellatur in Apulia, pugnatum esset, ambo consules ab Hannibale vincuntur. In ea pugna tria milia Afrorum pereunt; magna pars de exercitu Hannibalis sauciatur. Nullo tamen proelio Punico bello Romani gravius accepti sunt. Perit enim in eo consul Aemilius Paulus, consulares aut praetorii XX, senatores capti aut occisi XXX, nobiles viri CCC, militum XL milia, equitum III milia et quingenti. In quibus malis nemo tamen Romanorum pacis mentionem habere dignatus est. Servi, quod numquam ante, manumissi et milites facti sunt.

11

Post eam pugnam multae Italiae civitates, quae Romanis paruerant, se ad Hannibalem transtulerunt. Hannibal Romanis obtulit, ut captivos redimerent, responsumque est a senatu eos cives non esse necessarios, qui cum armati essent, capi potuissent. Ille omnes postea variis suppliciis interfecit et tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus equitum Romanorum, senatorum et militum detraxerat. Interea in Hispania, ubi frater Hannibalis Hasdrubal remanserat cum magno exercitu, ut eam totam Afris subigeret, a duobus Scipionibus, Romanis ducibus, vincitur. Perdit in pugna XXXV milia hominum; ex his capiuntur X milia, occiduntur XXV milia. Mittuntur ei a Carthaginiensibus ad reparandas vires XII milia peditum, IV milia equitum, XX elephantum.

Anno quarto postquam ad Italiam Hannibal venit, M. Claudius Marcellus consul apud Nolam, civitatem Campaniae, contra Hannibalem bene pugnavit. Hannibal multas civitates Romanorum per Apuliam, Calabriam, Brittios occupavit. Quo tempore etiam rex Macedoniae Philippus ad eum legatos misit, promittens auxilia contra Romanos sub hac condicione, ut deletis Romanis ipse quoque contra Graecos ab Hannibale auxilia acciperet. Captis igitur legatis Philippi et re cognita Romani in Macedoniam M. Valerium Laevinum ire iusserunt, in Sardiniam T. Manlium Torquatium proconsulem. Nam etiam ea sollicitata ab Hannibale, Romanos deseruerat.

13

Ita uno tempore quattuor locis pugnabatur: in Italia contra Hannibalem, in Hispaniis contra fratrem eius Hasdrubalem, in Macedonia contra Philippum, in Sardinia contra Sardos et alterum Hasdrubalem Carthaginensem. Is a T. Manlio proconsule, qui ad Sardiniam missus fuerat, vivus est captus, occisa cum eo duodecim milia, capti mille quingenti, et a Romanis Sardinia subacta. Manlius victor captivos et Hasdrubalem Romam reportavit. Interea etiam Philippus a Laevino in Macedonia vincitur et in Hispania ab Scipionibus Hasdrubal et Mago, tertius frater Hannibalis.

14

Decimo anno postquam Hannibal in Italiam venerat, P. Sulpicio Cn. Fulvio consulibus, Hannibal usque ad quartum miliarium urbis accessit, equites eius usque ad portam. Mox consulum cum exercitu venientium metu Hannibal ad Campaniam se recepit. In Hispania a fratre eius Hasdrubale ambo Scipiones, qui per multos annos victores fuerant, interficiuntur, exercitus tamen integer mansit; casu enim magis erant quam virtute decepti. Quo tempore etiam a consule Marcello Siciliae magna pars capta est, quam tenere Afri coeperant, et nobilissima urbs Syracusana; praeda ingens Romam perlata est. Laevinus in Macedonia cum Philippo et multis Graeciae populis et rege Asiae Attalo amicitiam fecit, et ad Siciliam profectus Hannonem quendam, Afrorum ducem, apud Agrigentum civitatem cum ipso oppido cepit eumque Romam cum captivis nobilibus misit. XL civitates in deditionem accepit, XXVI expugnavit. Ita omnis Sicilia recepta et Macedonia fracta; ingenti gloria Romam regressus est. Hannibal in Italia Cn. Fulvium consulem subito

adgressus cum octo milibushominum interfecit.

15

Interea ad Hispanias, ubi occisis duobus Scipionibus nullus Romanus dux erat, P. Cornelius Scipio mittitur, filius P. Scipionis, qui ibidem bellum gesserat, annos natus quattuor et viginti, vir Romanorum omnium et sua aetate et posteriore tempore fere primus. Is Carthaginem Hispaniae capit, in qua omne aurum, argentum et belli apparatus Afri habebant, nobilissimos quoque obsides, quos ab Hispanis acceperant. Magonem etiam, fratrem Hannibalis, ibidem capit, quem Romam cum aliis mittit. Romae ingens laetitia post hunc nuntium fuit. Scipio Hispanorum obsides parentibus reddidit; quare omnes fere Hispaniae uno animo ad eum transierunt. Post quae Hasdrubalem, Hannibalis fratrem, victum fugat et praedam maximam capit.

16

Interea in Italia consul Q. Fabius Maximus Tarentum recepit, in qua ingentes copiae Hannibalis erant. Ibi etiam ducem Hannibalis Carthalonem occidit, XXV milia hominum captivorum vendidit, praedam militibus dispertivit, pecuniam hominum venditorum ad fiscum retulit. Tum multae civitates Romanorum, quae ad Hannibalem transierant prius, rursus se Fabio Maximo dederunt. Insequenti anno Scipio in Hispania egregias res egit et per se et per fratrem suum L. Scipionem; LXX civitates receperunt. In Italia tamen male pugnatum est. Nam Claudius Marcellus consul ab Hannibale occisus est.

17

Tertio anno postquam Scipio ad Hispanias profectus fuerat, rursus res inclitas gerit. Regem Hispaniarum magno proelio victum in amicitiam accepit et primus omnium a victo obsides non poposcit.

18

Desperans Hannibal Hispanias contra Scipionem diutius posse retinere, fratrem suum Hasdrubalem ad Italiam cum omnibus copiis evocavit. Is veniens eodem itinere, quo etiam Hannibal venerat, a consulibus Ap. Claudio Nerone et M. Livio Salinatore apud Senam, Piceni civitatem, in insidias

conpositas incidit. Strenue tamen pugnans occisus est; ingentes eius copiae captae aut interfectae sunt, magnum pondus auri atque argenti Romam relatum est. Post haec Hannibal diffidere iam de belli coepit eventum. Romanis ingens animus accessit; itaque et ipsi evocaverunt ex Hispania P. Cornelium Scipionem. Is Romam cum ingenti gloria venit.

19

Q. Caecilio L. Valerio consulibus omnes civitates, quae in Britanniis ab Hannibale tenebantur, Romanis se tradiderunt.

20

Anno quarto decimo posteaquam in Italiam Hannibal venerat, Scipio, qui multa bene in Hispania egerat, consul est factus et in Africam missus. Cui viro divinum quiddam inesse existimabatur, adeo ut putaretur etiam cum numinibus habere sermonem. Is in Africa contra Hannonem, ducem Afrorum, pugnat; exercitum eius interficit. Secundo proelio castra capit cum quattuor milibus et quingentis militibus, XI milibus occisis. Syphacem, Numidiae regem, qui se Afris coniunxerat, capit et castra eius invadit. Syphax cum nobilissimis Numidis et infinitis spoliis Romam a Scipione mittitur. Qua re audita omnis fere Italia Hannibalem deserit. Ipse a Carthaginiensibus redire in Africam iubetur, quam Scipio vastabat.

21

Ita anno septimo decimo ab Hannibale Italia liberata est. Legati Carthaginiensium pacem a Scipione petiverunt; ab eo ad senatum Romam missi sunt. Quadraginta et quinque diebus his indutiae datae sunt, quousque ire Romam et regredi possent; et triginta milia pondo argenti ab his accepta sunt. Senatus ex arbitrio Scipionis pacem iussit cum Carthaginiensibus fieri. Scipio his condicionibus dedit: ne amplius quam triginta naves haberent, ut quingenta milia pondo argenti darent, captivos et perfugas redderent.

22

Interim Hannibale veniente ad Africam pax turbata est, multa hostilia ab Afris facta sunt. Legati tamen eorum ex urbe venientes a Romanis capti sunt, sed

iubente Scipione dimissi. Hannibal quoque frequentibus proeliis victus a Scipione petit etiam ipse pacem. Cum ventum esset ad colloquium, isdem condicionibus data est, quibus prius, additis quingentis milibus pondo argenti centum milibus librarum propter novam perfidiam. Carthaginiensibus condiciones displicuerunt iusseruntque Hannibalem pugnare. Infertur a Scipione et Masinissa, alio rege Numidarum, qui amicitiam cum Scipione fecerat, Carthagini bellum. Hannibal tres exploratores ad Scipionis castra misit, quos captos Scipio circumduci per castra iussit ostendique his totum exercitum, mox etiam prandium dari dimittique, ut renuntiarent Hannibali quae apud Romanos vidissent.

23

Interea proelium ab utroque duce instructum est, quale vix ulla memoria fuit, cum peritissimi viri copias suas ad bellum educerent. Scipio victor recedit paene ipso Hannibale capto, qui primum cum multis equitibus, deinde cum viginti, postremo cum quattuor evasit. Inventa in castris Hannibalis argenti pondo viginti milia, auri octoginta, cetera supellectilis copiosa. Post id certamen pax cum Carthaginiensibus facta est. Scipio Romam rediit, ingenti gloria triumphavit atque Africanus ex eo appellari coeptus est. Finem accepit secundum Punicum bellum post annum nonum decimum, quam coeperat.

LIBER IV

1

Transacto Punico bello secutum est Macedonicum contra Philippum regem quingentesimo quinquagesimo et primo anno ab urbe condita.

2

T. Quintius Flamininus adversum Philippum missus rem prospere gessit. Pax ei data est his legibus: ne Graeciae civitatibus, quas Romani contra eum defenderant, bellum inferret, ut captivos et transfugas redderet, quinquaginta solas naves haberet, reliquas Romanis dederet, per annos decem quaterna milia pondo argenti praestaret et obsidem daret filium suum Demetrium. T. Quintius etiam Lacedaemoniis intulit bellum. Ducem eorum Nabidem vicit et quibus voluit condicionibus in fidem accepit. Ingenti gloria triumphavit; duxit ante currum nobilissimos obsides, Demetrium, Philippi filium, et Armenen Nabidis.

3

Transacto bello Macedonico secutum est Syriacum contra Antiochum regem P. Cornelio Scipione M. Acilio Glabrione consulibus. Huic Antiocho Hannibal se iunxerat, Carthaginem, patriam suam, metu, ne Romanis traderetur, relinquens. M. Acilius Glabrio in Achaia bene pugnavit. Castra regis Antiochi nocturna pugna capta sunt, ipse fugatus. Philippo, quia contra Antiochum Romanis fuisset auxilio, filius Demetrius redditus est.

4

L. Cornelio Scipione et C. Laelio consulibus Scipio Africanus fratri suo L. Cornelio Scipioni consuli legatus datus contra Antiochum profectus est. Hannibal, qui cum Antiocho erat, navali proelio victus est. Ipse postea Antiochus circa Sipylum apud Magnesiam, Asiae civitatem, a consule Cornelio Scipione ingenti proelio fusus est. Auxilio fuit Romanis in ea pugna Eumenes, Attali regis frater, qui Eumeniam in Phrygia condidit. Quinquaginta milia peditum, tria equitum eo certamine ex parte regis occisa sunt. Tum rex

pacem petit. Isdem condicionibus data est a senatu, quamquam victo, quibus ante offerebatur: ut ex Europa et Asia recederet atque intra Taurum se contineret, decem milia talentorum et viginti obsides praeberet, Hannibalem, concitatore belli, dederet. Eumeni regi donatae sunt a senatu omnes Asiae civitates, quas Antiochus bello perdidit, et Rhodiis, qui auxilium Romanis contra regem Antiochum tulerant, multae urbes concessae sunt. Scipio Romam rediit, ingenti gloria triumphavit. Nomen et ipse ad imitationem fratris Asiagenis accepit, quia Asiam vicerat, sicuti frater ipsius propter Africam domitam Africanus appellabatur.

5

Sp. Postumio Albino Q. Marcio Philippo consulibus M. Fulvius de Aetolis triumphavit. Hannibal, qui victo Antiocho, ne Romanis traderetur, ad Prusiam, Bithyniae regem, fugerat, repetitus etiam ab eo est per T. Quintium Flaminium. Et, cum tradendus Romanis esset, venenum bibit et apud Libyssam in finibus Nicomedensium sepultus est.

6

Philippo, rege Macedoniae, mortuo, qui et adversum Romanos bellum gesserat et postea Romanis contra Antiochum auxilium tulerat, filius eius Perseus in Macedonia rebellavit ingentibus copiis ad bellum paratis. Nam adiutores habebat Cotyn, Thraciae regem, et regem Illyrici, Gentium nomine. Romanis autem in auxilio erant Eumenes, Asiae rex, Ariaratus Cappadociae, Antiochus Syriae, Ptolomaeus Aegypti, Masinissa Numidia. Prusias autem Bithyniae, quamquam sororem Persei uxorem haberet, utrisque se aequum praebuit. Dux Romanorum P. Licinius consul contra eum missus est et a rege gravi proelio victus. Neque tamen Romani, quamquam superati, regi petenti pacem praestare voluerunt, nisi his condicionibus: ut se et suos senatui et populo Romano dederet. Mox missus contra eum L. Aemilius Paulus consul et in Illyricum C. Anicius praetor contra Gentium. Sed Gentius facile uno proelio victus mox se dedit. Mater eius et uxor et duo filii, frater quoque simul in potestatem Romanorum venerunt. Ita bello intra XXX dies perfecto ante cognitum est Gentium victum, quam coeptum bellum nuntiaretur.

7

Cum Perseo autem Aemilius Paulus consul III Nonas Septembres dimicavit vicitque eum viginti milibus peditum eius occisis. Equitatus cum rege integer fugit. Romanorum centum milites amissi sunt. Urbes Macedoniae omnes, quas rex tenuerat, Romanis se dediderunt; ipse rex, cum desereretur ab amicis, venit in Pauli potestatem. Sed honorem ei Aemilius Paulus consul non quasi victo habuit. Nam et volentem ad pedes sibi cadere non permisit et iuxta se in sella conlocavit. Macedonibus et Illyriis hae leges a Romanis datae: ut liberi essent et dimidium eorum tributorum praestarent, quae regibus praestitissent, ut appareret, populum Romanum pro aequitate magis quam avaritia dimicare. Itaque in conventu infinitorum populorum Paulus hoc pronuntiavit et legationes multarum gentium, quae ad eum venerant, magnificentissime convivio pavit, dicens eiusdem hominis esse debere et bello vincere et in convivii apparatu elegantem esse.

8

Mox septuaginta civitates Epiri, quae rebellabant, cepit, praedam militibus distribuit. Romam ingenti pompa rediit in navi Persei, quae inusitatae magnitudinis fuisse traditur, adeo ut sedecim ordines dicatur habuisse remorum. Triumphavit autem magnificentissime in curru aureo cum duobus filiis utroque latere adstantibus. Ducti sunt ante currum duo regis filii et ipse Perseus, XLV annos natus. Post eum etiam Anicius de Illyriis triumphavit. Gentius cum fratre et filiis ante currum ductus est. Ad hoc spectaculum reges multarum gentium Romam venerunt, inter alios venit etiam Attalus atque Eumenes, Asiae reges, et Prusias Bithyniae. Magno honore excepti sunt et permittente senatu dona, quae attulerant, in Capitolio posuerunt. Prusias etiam filium suum Nicomedem senatui commendavit.

9

Insequenti anno L. Memmius in Lusitania bene pugnavit. Marcellus postea consul res ibidem prosperas gessit.

10

Tertium deinde bellum contra Carthaginem suscipitur, sexcentesimo et altero ab urbe condita anno, L. Manlio Censorino et M. Manilio consulibus, anno

quinquagesimo primo postquam secundum Punicum transactum erat. Hi profecti Carthaginem oppugnaverunt. Contra eos Hasdrubal, dux Carthaginensium, dimicabat. Famea, dux alius, equitatu Carthaginensium praeerat. Scipio tunc, Scipionis Africani nepos, tribunus ibi militabat. Huius apud omnes ingens metus et reverentia erat. Nam et paratissimus ad dimicandum et consultissimus habebatur. Itaque per eum multa a consulibus prospere gesta sunt, neque quicquam magis vel Hasdrubal vel Famea vitabant, quam contra eam Romanorum partem committere, ubi Scipio dimicaret.

11

Per idem tempus Masinissa, rex Numidarum, per annos sexaginta fere amicus populi Romani, anno vitae nonagesimo septimo mortuus quadraginta quattuor filiis relictis Scipionem divisorem regni inter filios suos esse iussit.

12

Cum igitur clarum Scipionis nomen esset, iuvenis adhuc consul est factus et contra Carthaginem missus. Is eam cepit ac diruit. Spolia ibi inventa, quae variarum civitatum excidiis Carthago collegerat, et ornamenta urbium civitatibus Siciliae, Italiae, Africae reddidit, quae sua recognoscebant. Ita Carthago septingentesimo anno, quam condita erat, deleta est. Scipio nomen, quod avus eius acceperat, meruit, scilicet ut propter virtutem etiam ipse Africanus iunior vocaretur.

13

Interim in Macedonia quidam Pseudophilippus arma movit et Romanum praetorem P. Iuventium contra se missum ad internicionem vicit. Post eum Q. Caecilius Metellus dux a Romanis contra Pseudophilippum missus est et XXV milibus eius occisis Macedoniam recepit, ipsum etiam Pseudophilippum in potestatem suam redegit.

14

Corinthiis quoque bellum indictum est, nobilissimae Graeciae civitati, propter iniuriam legatorum Romanorum. Hanc Mummius consul cepit et diruit. Tres igitur Romae simul celeberrimi triumphi fuerunt: Africani ex Africa, ante

cuius currum ductus est Hasdrubal, Metelli ex Macedonia, cuius currum praecessit Andriscus, idem qui et Pseudophilippus, Mummii ex Corintho, ante quem signa aenea et pictae tabulae et alia urbis clarissimae ornamenta praelata sunt.

15

Iterum in Macedonia Pseudoperses, qui se Persei filium esse dicebat, collectis servitiis rebellavit et, cum sedecim milia armatorum haberet, a Tremellio quaestore superatus est.

16

Eodem tempore Metellus in Celtiberia apud Hispanos res egregias gessit. Successit ei Q. Pompeius. Nec multo post Q. quoque Caepio ad idem bellum missus est, quod quidam Viriathus contra Romanos in Lusitania gerebat. Quo metu Viriathus a suis interfectus est, cum quattuordecim annis Hispanias adversus Romanos movisset. Pastor primo fuit, mox latronum dux, postremo tantos ad bellum populos concitavit, ut adsertor contra Romanos Hispaniae putaretur. Et cum interfectores eius praemium a Caepione consule peterent, responsum est numquam Romanis placuisse imperatores a suis militibus interfici.

17

Q. Pompeius deinde consul, a Numantinis, quae Hispaniae civitas fuit opulentissima, superatus, pacem ignobilem fecit. Post eum C. Hostilius Mancinus consul iterum cum Numantinis pacem fecit infamem, quam populus et senatus iussit infringi atque ipsum Mancinum hostibus tradi, ut in illo, quem auctorem foederis habebant, iniuriam soluti foederis vindicarent. Post tantam igitur ignominiam, qua a Numantinis bis Romani exercitus fuerant subiugati, P. Scipio Africanus secundo consul factus et ad Numantiam missus est. Is primum militem vitiosum et ignavum exercendo magis quam puniendo sine aliqua acerbitate correxuit, tum multas Hispaniae civitates partim cepit, partim in deditionem accepit, postremo ipsam Numantiam diu obsessam fame confecit et a solo evertit, reliquam provinciam in fidem accepit.

18

Eodem tempore Attalus, rex Asiae, frater Eumenis, mortuus est heredemque populum Romanum reliquit. Ita imperio Romano per testamentum Asia accessit.

19

Mox etiam D. Iunius Brutus de Callaecis et Lusitanis magna gloria triumphavit et P. Scipio Africanus de Numantinis secundum triumphum egit quarto decimo anno postquam priorem de Africa egerat.

20

Motum interim in Asia bellum est ab Aristonico, Eumenis filio, qui ex concubina susceptus fuerat. Hic Eumenes frater Attali fuerat. Adversus eum missus P. Licinius Crassus infinita regum habuit auxilia. Nam et Bithyniae rex Nicomedes Romanos iuvit et Mithridates Ponticus, cum quo bellum postea gravissimum fuit, et Ariarathes Cappadox et Pylaemenes Paphlagon. Victus est tamen Crassus et in proelio interfectus est. Caput ipsius Aristonico oblatum est, corpus Smyrnae sepultum. Postea Perperna, consul Romanus, qui successor Crasso veniebat, audita belli fortuna ad Asiam celeravit et acie victum Aristonicum apud Stratonicen civitatem, quo confugerat, fame ad deditionem compulit. Aristonicus iussu senatus Romae in carcere strangulatus est. Triumphari enim de eo non poterat, quia Perperna apud Pergamum Romam rediens diem obierat.

21

L. Caecilio Metello et T. Quintio Flaminino consulibus Carthago in Africa iussu senatus reparata est, quae nunc manet, annis duobus et viginti postquam a Scipione fuerat eversa. Deducti eo sunt cives Romani.

22

Anno sexcentesimo vicesimo septimo ab urbe condita C. Cassius Longinus et Sex. Domitius Calvinus consules Gallis transalpinis bellum intulerunt et Arvernorum tunc nobilissimae civitati atque eorum duci Bituito infinitamque multitudinem iuxta Rhodanum fluvium interfecerunt. Praeda ex torquibus Gallorum ingens Romam perlata est. Bituitus se Domitio dedit atque ab eo

Romam deductus est, magnaue gloria consules ambo triumphaverunt.

23

M. Porcio Catone et Q. Marcio Rege consulibus, sexcentesimo tricesimo et tertio anno ab urbe condita Narbone in Gallia colonia deducta est annoque post a L. Caecilio Metello et Q. Mucio Scaevola consulibus de Dalmatia triumphatum est.

24

Ab urbe condita anno sexcentesimo tricesimo quinto C. Cato consul Scordiscis intulit bellum ignominioseque pugnavit.

25

C. Caecilio Metello et Cn. Carbone consulibus duo Metelli fratres eodem die, alterum ex Sardinia, alterum ex Thracia, triumphum egerunt, nuntiatumque Romae est Cimbros e Gallia in Italiam transisse.

26

P. Scipione Nasica et L. Calpurnio Bestia consulibus Iugurthae, Numidarum regi, bellum inlatum est, quod Adherbalem et Hiempsalem, Micipsae filios, fratres suos, reges et populi Romani amicos, interemisset. Missus adversus eum consul Calpurnius Bestia, corruptus regis pecunia, pacem cum eo flagitiosissimam fecit, quae a senatu improbata est. Postea contra eundem insequenti anno Sp. Postumius Albinus profectus est. Is quoque per fratrem ignominiose contra Numidas pugnavit.

27

Tertio missus est Q. Caecilius Metellus consul. Is exercitum a prioribus ducibus corruptum ingenti severitate et moderatione correctum, cum nihil in quemquam cruentum faceret, ad disciplinam Romanam reduxit. Iugurtham variis proeliis vicit, elephantos eius occidit vel cepit, multas civitates ipsius in deditionem cepit. Et cum iam finem bello positurus esset, successum est ei a C. Mario. Is Iugurtham et Bocchum, Mauritaniae regem, qui auxilium Iugurthae ferre coeperat, pariter superavit. Aliquanta et ipse oppida Numidia

cepit belloque terminum posuit capto Iugurtha per quaestorem suum Cornelium Sullam, ingentem virum, tradente Boccho Iugurtham qui pro eo ante pugnaverat. A M. Iunio Silano, collega Q. Metelli, Cimbri in Gallia victi sunt, et a Minucio Rufo in Macedonia Scordisci et Triballi, et a Servilio Caepione in Hispania Lusitani subacti. Acti sunt et duo triumphi de Iugurtha, primus per Metellum, secundus per Marium. Ante currum tamen Marii Iugurtha cum duobus filiis ductus est catenatus et mox iussu consulis in carcere strangulatus est.

LIBER V

1

Dum bellum in Numidia contra Iugurtham geritur, Romani consules M. Manlius et Q. Caepio a Cimbris et Teutonis et Tugurinis et Ambronibus, quae erant Germanorum et Gallorum gentes, victi sunt iuxta flumen Rhodanum et ingenti internicione; etiam castra sua et magnam partem exercitus perdiderunt. Timor Romae grandis fuit, quantus vix Hannibalis tempore Punicis bellis, ne iterum Galli Romam venirent. Ergo Marius post victoriam Iugurthinam secundo consul est factus bellumque ei contra Cimbros et Teutones decretum est. Tertio quoque ei et quarto delatus est consulatus, quia bellum Cimbricum protrahebatur. Sed in quarto consulatu collegam habuit Q. Lutatium Catulum. Cum Cimbris itaque conflixit et duobus proeliis CC milia hostium cecidit, LXXX milia cepit et ducem eorum Teutobodum, propter quod meritum absens quinto consul est factus.

2

Interea Cimbri et Teutones, quorum copia adhuc infinita erat, ad Italiam transierunt. Iterum a C. Mario et Q. Catulo contra eos dimicatum est, sed a Catuli parte felicius. Nam proelio, quod simul ambo gesserunt, CXL milia aut in pugna aut in fuga caesa sunt, LX milia capta. Romani milites ex utroque exercitu trecenti perierunt. Tria et triginta Cimbris signa sublata sunt; ex his exercitus Marii duo reportavit, Catuli exercitus XXXI. Is belli finis fuit; triumphus utrique decretus est.

3

Sex. Iulio Caesare et L. Marcio Philippo consulibus, sexcentesimo quinquagesimo nono anno ab urbe condita, cum prope alia omnia bella cessarent, in Italia gravissimum bellum Picentes, Marsi Pelignique moverunt, qui, cum annis numerosis iam populo Romano obedirent, tum libertatem sibi aequam adserere coeperunt. Perniciosum admodum hoc bellum fuit. P. Rutilius consul in eo occisus est, Caepio, nobilis iuvenis, Porcius Cato, alius consul. Duces autem adversus Romanos Picentibus et Marsis fuerunt T. Vettius, Hierius Asinius, T. Herennius, A. Cluentius. A Romanis bene contra

eos pugnatum est a C. Mario, qui sexies consul fuerat, et a Cn. Pompeio, maxime tamen a L. Cornelio Sulla, qui inter alia egregia ita Cluentium, hostium ducem, cum magnis copiis fudit, ut ex suis unum amitteret. Quadriennio cum gravi tamen calamitate hoc bellum tractum est. Quinto demum anno finem accepit per L. Cornelium Sullam consulem, cum antea in eodem bello ipse multa strenue, sed praetor, egisset.

4

Anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo sexagesimo secundo primum Romae bellum civile commotum est, eodem anno etiam Mithridaticum. Causam bello civili C. Marius sexiens consul dedit. Nam cum Sulla consul contra Mithridatem gesturus bellum, qui Asiam et Achaiam occupaverat, mitteretur, isque exercitum in Campania paulisper teneret, ut belli socialis, de quo diximus, quod intra Italiam gestum fuerat, reliquiae tollerentur, Marius adfectavit, ut ipse ad bellum Mithridaticum mitteretur. Qua re Sulla commotus cum exercitu ad urbem venit. Illic contra Marium et Sulpicium dimicavit. Primus urbem Romam armatus ingressus est, Sulpicium interfecit, Marium fugavit, atque ita ordinatis consulibus in futurum annum Cn. Octavio et L. Cornelio Cinna ad Asiam profectus est.

5

Mithridates enim, qui Ponti rex erat atque Armeniam minorem et totum Ponticum mare in circuitu cum Bosphoro tenebat, primum Nicomedem, amicum populi Romani, Bithynia voluit expellere senatuique mandavit bellum se ei propter iniurias, quas passus fuerat, inlaturum. A senatu responsum Mithridati est, si id faceret, quod bellum a Romanis et ipse pateretur. Quare iratus Cappadociam statim occupavit et ex ea Ariobarzanen, regem et amicum populi Romani, fugavit. Mox etiam Bithyniam invasit et Paphlagoniam pulsus ex ea regibus, amicis populi Romani, Pylaemene et Nicomede. Inde Ephesum contendit et per omnem Asiam litteras misit, ut ubicumque inventi essent cives Romani, uno die occiderentur.

6

Interea etiam Athenae, civitas Achaiae, ab Aristone Atheniensi Mithridati

tradita est. Miserat eum iam ad Achaia Mithridates Archelaum, ducem suum, cum centum et viginti milibus equitum ac peditum, per quem etiam reliqua Graecia occupata est. Sulla Archelaum apud Piraeum, non longe ab Athenis, obsedit, ipsas Athenas cepit. Postea commisso proelio contra Archelaum ita eum vicit, ut ex CXX milibus vix decem Archelao superessent, ex Sullae exercitu XIII tantum homines interficerentur. Hac pugna Mithridates cognita septuaginta milia lectissima ex Asia Archelao misit, contra quem iterum Sulla commisit. Primo proelio quindecim milia hostium interfecta sunt et filius Archelai Diogenes; secundo omnes Mithridatis copiae extinctae sunt, Archelaus ipse triduo nudus in paludibus latuit. Hac re audita Mithridates iussit cum Sulla de pace agi.

7

Interim eo tempore Sulla etiam Dardanos, Scordiscos, Dalmatas et Maedos partim vicit, alios in fidem accepit. Sed cum legati a rege Mithridate, qui pacem petebant, venissent, non aliter se daturum Sulla esse respondit, nisi rex relictis his, quae occupaverat, ad regnum suum redisset. Postea tamen ad colloquium ambo venerunt. Pax inter eos ordinata est, ut Sulla ad bellum civile festinans a tergo periculum non haberet. Nam dum Sulla in Achaia atque Asia Mithridatem vincit, Marius, qui fugatus erat, et Cornelius Cinna, unus ex consulibus, bellum in Italia reparaverunt et ingressi urbem Romam nobilissimos e senatu et consulares viros interfecerunt, multos proscripserunt, ipsius Sullae domo eversa filios et uxorem ad fugam compulerunt. Universus reliquus senatus ex urbe fugiens ad Sullam in Graeciam venit, orans, ut patriae subveniret. Ille in Italiam traiecit, bellum civile gesturus adversus Norbanum et Scipionem consules. Et primo proelio contra Norbanum dimicavit non longe a Capua. Tum sex milia eius cecidit, sex milia cepit, CXXIV suos amisit. Inde etiam ad Scipionem se convertit et ante proelium totum eius exercitum sine sanguine in deditionem accepit.

8

Sed, cum Romae mutati consules essent, Marius, Marii filius, ac Papirius Carbo consulatum acceperant, Sulla contra Marium iuniorem dimicavit et XV milibus eius occisis CCCC de suis perdidit. Mox etiam urbem ingressus est. Marium, Marii filium, Praeneste persecutus obsedit et ad mortem compulit.

Rursus pugnam gravissimam habuit contra Lamponium et Carinatem, duces partis Marianae, ad portam Collinam. LXX milia hostium in eo proelio contra Sullam fuisse dicuntur. XII milia se Sullae dediderunt, ceteri in acie, in castris, in fuga insatiabili ira victorum consumpti sunt. Cn. quoque Carbo, consul alter, ab Arimino ad Siciliam fugit et ibi per Cn. Pompeium interfectus est, quem adolescentem Sulla atque annos unum et viginti natum cognita eius industria exercitibus praefecerat, ut secundus a Sulla haberetur.

9

Occiso ergo Carbone Siciliam Pompeius recepit. Transgressus inde ad Africam, Domitium, Marianae partis ducem, et Hiardam, regem Mauritaniae, qui Domitio auxilium ferebat, occidit. Post haec Sulla de Mithridate ingenti gloria triumphavit. Cn. etiam Pompeius, quod nulli Romanorum tributum erat, quartum et vicesimum annum agens de Africa triumphavit. Hunc finem habuerunt duo bella funestissima, Italicum, quod et sociale dictum est, et civile, quae ambo tracta sunt per annos decem. Consumpserunt autem ultra CL milia hominum, viros consulares XXIV, praetorios VII, aedilicios LX, senatores fere CC.

LIBER VI

1

M. Aemilio Lepido Q. Catulo consulibus, cum Sulla rem publicam conposuisset, bella nova exarserunt, unum in Hispania, aliud in Pamphylia et Cilicia, tertium in Macedonia, quartum in Dalmatia. Nam Sertorius, qui partium Marianarum fuerat, timens fortunam ceterorum, qui interempti erant, ad bellum commovit Hispanias. Missi sunt contra eum duces Q. Caecilius Metellus, filius eius, qui Iugurtham regem vicit, et L. Domitius praetor. A Sertorii duce Hirtuleio Domitius occisus est. Metellus vario successu contra Sertorium dimicavit. Postea, cum inpar pugnae solus Metellus putaretur, Cn. Pompeius ad Hispanias missus est. Ita duobus ducibus adversis Sertorius fortuna varia saepe pugnavit. Octavo demum anno per suos occisus est, et finis ei bello datus per Cn. Pompeium adulescentem et Q. Metellum Pium atque omnes prope Hispaniae in dicionem populi Romani redactae.

2

Ad Macedoniam missus est Ap. Claudius post consulatum. Levia proelia habuit contra varias gentes, quae Rhodopam provinciam incolebant, atque ibi morbo mortuus est. Missus ei successor C. Scribonius Curio post consulatum. Is Dardanos vicit et usque ad Danubium penetravit triumphumque meruit et intra triennium bello finem dedit.

3

Ad Ciliciam et Pamphyliam missus est P. Servilius ex consule, vir strenuus. Is Ciliciam subegit, Lyciae urbes clarissimas oppugnavit et cepit, in his Phaselida, Olympum, Corycum Ciliciae. Isauros quoque adgressus in dicionem redegit atque intra triennium bello finem dedit. Primus omnium Romanorum in Tauro iter fecit. Revertens triumphum accepit et nomen Isaurici meruit.

4

Ad Illyricum missus est C. Cosconius pro consule. Multam partem Dalmatiae

subegit, Salonas cepit et conposito bello Romam post biennium rediit.

5

Isdem temporibus consul M. Aemilius Lepidus, Catuli collega, bellum civile voluit commovere, intra unam tamen aestatem motus eius oppressus est. Ita uno tempore multi simul triumphi fuerunt, Metelli ex Hispania, Pompeii secundus ex Hispania, Curionis ex Macedonia, Servilii ex Isauria.

6

Anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo septuagesimo sexto, L. Licinio Lucullo et M. Aurelio Cotta consulibus mortuus est Nicomedes, rex Bithyniae, et per testamentum populum Romanum fecit heredem. Mithridates pace rupta Bithyniam et Asiam rursus voluit invadere. Adversus eum ambo consules missi variam habuere fortunam. Cotta apud Chalcedonem victus ab eo acie, etiam intra oppidum coactus est et obsessus. Sed cum se inde Mithridates Cyzicum transtulisset, ut Cyzico capta totam Asiam invaderet, Lucullus ei, alter consul, occurrit. Ac dum Mithridates in obsidione Cyzici commoratur, ipse eum a tergo obsedit fameque consumpsit et multis proeliis vicit, postremo Byzantium, quae nunc Constantinopolis est, fugavit. Navali quoque proelio duces eius Lucullus oppressit. Ita una hieme et aestate a Lucullo ad centum fere milia regis extincta sunt.

7

Anno urbis Romae sexcentesimo septuagesimo octavo Macedoniam provinciam M. Licinius Lucullus accepit, consobrinus Luculli, qui contra Mithridatem bellum gerebat. Et in Italia novum bellum subito commotum est. Septuaginta enim et quattuor gladiatores ducibus Spartaco, Crixo et Oenomao effracto Capuae ludo fugerunt. Et per Italiam vagantes paene non levius bellum in ea, quam Hannibal moverat, paraverunt. Nam multis ducibus et duobus simul Romanorum consulibus victis sexaginta fere milium armatorum exercitum congregaverunt, victique sunt in Apulia a M. Licinio Crasso pro consule, et post multas calamitates Italiae tertio anno bello huic est finis inpositus.

8

Sexcentesimo octogesimo primo anno urbis conditae, P. Cornelio Lentulo et Cn. Aufidio Oreste consulibus duo tantum gravia bella in imperio Romano erant, Mithridaticum et Macedonicum. Haec duo Luculli agebant, L. Lucullus et M. Lucullus. L. ergo Lucullus post pugnam Cyzicenam, qua vicerat Mithridatem, et navalem, qua duces eius oppresserat, persecutus est eum et recepta Paphlagonia atque Bithynia etiam regnum eius invasit, Sinopen et Amison, civitates Ponti nobilissimas, cepit. Secundo proelio apud Caberam civitatem, quo ingentes copias ex omni regno adduxerat Mithridates, cum XXX milia lectissima regis a quinque milibus Romanorum vastata essent, Mithridates fugatus est, castra eius direpta. Armenia quoque minor, quam tenuerat, eidem sublata est. Susceptus tamen est Mithridates post fugam a Tigrane, Armeniae rege, qui tum ingenti gloria imperabat, Persas saepe vicerat, Mesopotamiam occupaverat et Syriam et Phoenices partem.

9

Ergo Lucullus repetens hostem fugatum etiam regnum Tigranis qui Armeniis imperabat ingressus est. Tigranocertam, civitatem Arzanenae, nobilissimam regni Armeniaci, cepit, ipsum regem cum septem milibus quingentis clibanariis et centum milibus sagittariorum et armatorum venientem decem et octo milia militum habens ita vicit, ut magnam partem Armeniorum deleverit. Inde Nisibin profectus eam quoque civitatem cum regis fratre cepit. Sed hi, quos in Ponto Lucullus reliquerat cum exercitus parte, ut regiones victas et iam Romanorum tuerentur, neglegenter se et avare agentes occasionem iterum Mithridati in Pontum inrumpendi dederunt, atque ita bellum renovatum est. Lucullo paranti capta Nisibi contra Persas expeditionem successor est missus.

10

Alter autem Lucullus, qui Macedoniam administrabat, Bessis primus Romanorum intulit bellum atque eos ingenti proelio in Haemo monte superavit. Oppidum Uscudamam, quod Bessi habitabant, eodem die, quo adgressus est, vicit, Cabylen cepit, usque ad Danubium penetravit. Inde multas supra Pontum positas civitates adgressus est. Illic Apolloniam evertit, Callatim, Parthenopolim, Tomos, Histrum, Burziaonem cepit belloque confecto Romam rediit. Ambo triumphaverunt, tamen Lucullus, qui contra Mithridatem pugnaverat, maiore gloria, cum tantorum regnorum victor

11

Confecto bello Macedonico, manente Mithridatico, quod recedente Lucullo rex collectis auxiliis reparaverat, bellum Creticum ortum est. Ad id missus Q. Caecilius Metellus ingentibus proeliis intra triennium omnem provinciam cepit appellatusque est Creticus atque ex insula triumphavit. Quo tempore Libya quoque Romano imperio per testamentum Appionis, qui rex eius fuerat, accessit, in qua inclutae urbes erant Berenice, Ptolomais, Cyrene.

12

Dum haec geruntur, piratae omnia maria infestabant ita, ut Romanis toto orbe victoribus sola navigatio tuta non esset. Quare id bellum Cn. Pompeio decretum est. Quod intra paucos menses ingenti et felicitate et celeritate confecit. Mox ei delatum etiam bellum contra regem Mithridatem et Tigranem. Quo suscepto Mithridatem in Armenia minore nocturno proelio vicit, castra diripuit, quadraginta milia eius occidit, viginti tantum de exercitu suo perdidit et duos centuriones. Mithridates cum uxore fugit et duobus comitibus. Neque multo post, cum in suos saeviret, Pharnacis, filii sui, apud milites seditione ad mortem coactus venenum hausit. Hunc finem habuit Mithridates. Periit autem apud Bosporum, vir ingentis industriae consiliiue. Regnavit annis sexaginta, vixit septuaginta duobus, contra Romanos bellum habuit annis quadraginta.

13

Tigrani deinde Pompeius bellum intulit. Ille se ei dedit et in castra Pompeii sexto decimo miliario ab Artaxata venit ac diadema suum, cum procubisset ad genua Pompeii, in manibus ipsius conlocavit. Quod ei Pompeius reposuit honorificeque eum habitum regni tamen parte multavit et grandi pecunia. Adempta est ei Syria, Phoenice, Sophanene; sex milia praeterea talentorum argenti indicta, quae populo Romano daret, quia bellum sine causa Romanis commovisset.

14

Pompeius mox etiam Albanis bellum intulit et eorum regem Oroden ter vicit, postremo per epistulas ac munera rogatus veniam ei ac pacem dedit. Hiberiae quoque regem Artacen vicit acie et in deditionem accepit. Armeniam minorem Deiotaro, Galatiae regi, donavit, quia socius belli Mithridatici fuerat. Attalo et Pylaemeni Paphlagoniam reddidit. Aristarchum Colchis regem imposuit. Mox Ituraeos et Arabas vicit. Et cum venisset in Syriam, Seleuciam, vicinam Antiochiae civitatem, libertate donavit, quod regem Tigranen non recepisset. Antiochensibus obsides reddidit. Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit, quo locus ibi spatiosior fieret, delectatus loci amoenitate et aquarum abundantia. Inde ad Iudaeam transgressus est, Hierosolyma, caput gentis, tertio mense cepit XII milibus Iudaeorum occisis, ceteris in fidem acceptis. His gestis in Asiam se recepit et finem antiquissimo bello dedit.

15

M. Tullio Cicerone oratore et C. Antonio consulibus, anno ab urbe condita sexcentesimo octogesimo nono, L. Sergius Catilina, nobilissimi generis vir, sed ingenii pravissimi, ad delendam patriam coniuravit cum quibusdam claris quidem, sed audacibus viris. A Cicerone urbe expulsus est. Socii eius deprehensi in carcere strangulati sunt. Ab Antonio, altero consule, Catilina ipse victus proelio est et interfectus.

16

Sexcentesimo nonagesimo anno urbis conditae D. Iunio Silano et L. Murena consulibus Metellus de Creta triumphavit, Pompeius de bello piratico et Mithridatico. Nulla umquam pompa triumphi similis fuit. Ducti sunt ante eius currum filii Mithridatis, filius Tigranis et Aristobulus, rex Iudaeorum; praelata est ingens pecunia et auri atque argenti infinitum. Hoc tempore nullum per orbem terrarum grave bellum erat.

17

Anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo nonagesimo tertio C. Iulius Caesar, qui postea imperavit, cum L. Bibulo consul est factus. Decreta est ei Gallia et Illyricum cum legionibus decem. Is primus vicit Helvetios, qui nunc Sequani appellantur, deinde vincendo per bella gravissima usque ad Oceanum

Britannicum processit. Domuit autem annis novem fere omnem Galliam, quae inter Alpes, flumen Rhodanum, Rhenum et Oceanum est et circuitu patet ad bis et tricies centena milia passuum. Britannis mox bellum intulit, quibus ante eum ne nomen quidem Romanorum cognitum erat, eosque victos obsidibus acceptis stipendiarios fecit. Galliae autem tributum nomine annuum imperavit stipendium quadringenties, Germanosque trans Rhenum adgressus inmanissimis proeliis vicit. Inter tot successus ter male pugnavit, apud Arvernos semel praesens et absens in Germania bis. Nam legati eius duo, Titurius et Aurunculeius, per insidias caesi sunt.

18

Circa eadem tempora anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo nonagesimo septimo, M. Licinius Crassus, collega Cn. Pompeii Magni in consulatu secundo, contra Parthos missus est et cum circa Carras contra omen et auspicia dimicasset, a Surena, Orodis regis duce, victus ad postremum interfectus est cum filio, clarissimo et praestantissimo iuvene. Reliquiae exercitus per C. Cassium quaestorem servatae sunt, qui singulari animo perditas res tanta virtute restituit, ut Persas rediens trans Euphraten crebris proeliis vinceret.

19

Hinc iam bellum civile successit exsecrandum et lacrimabile, quo praeter calamitates, quae in proeliis acciderunt, etiam populi Romani fortuna mutata est. Caesar enim rediens ex Gallia victor coepit poscere alterum consulatum atque ita ut sine dubietate aliqua ei deferretur. Contradictum est a Marcello consule, a Bibulo, a Pompeio, a Catone, iussusque dimissis exercitibus ad urbem redire. Propter quam iniuriam ab Arimino, ubi milites congregatos habebat, adversum patriam cum exercitu venit. Consules cum Pompeio senatusque omnis atque universa nobilitas ex urbe fugit et in Graeciam transiit. Apud Epirum, Macedoniam, Achaïam Pompeio duce senatus contra Caesarem bellum paravit.

20

Caesar vacuum urbem ingressus dictatorem se fecit. Inde Hispanias petiit. Ibi Pompeii exercitus validissimos et fortissimos cum tribus ducibus, L. Afranio,

M. Petreio, M. Varrone, superavit. Inde regressus in Graeciam transiit, adversum Pompeium dimicavit. Primo proelio victus est et fugatus, evasit tamen, quia nocte interveniente Pompeius sequi noluit, dixitque Caesar nec Pompeium scire vincere et illo tantum die se potuisse superari. Deinde in Thessalia apud Palaeopharsalum productis utrimque ingentibus copiis dimicaverunt. Pompei acies habuit XL milia peditum, equites in sinistro cornu sexcentos, in dextro quingentos, praeterea totius Orientis auxilia, totam nobilitatem, innumeros senatores, praetorios, consulares et qui magnorum iam bellorum victores fuissent. Caesar in acie sua habuit peditum non integra XXX milia, equites mille.

21

Numquam adhuc Romanae copiae in unum neque maiores neque melioribus ducibus convenerant, totum terrarum orbem facile subacturae, si contra barbaros ducerentur. Pugnatum tamen est ingenti contentione victusque ad postremum Pompeius et castra eius direpta sunt. Ipse fugatus Alexandriam petiit, ut a rege Aegypti, cui tutor a senatu datus fuerat propter iuvenilem eius aetatem, acciperet auxilia. Qui fortunam magis quam amicitiam secutus occidit Pompeium, caput eius et anulum Caesari misit. Quo conspecto Caesar etiam lacrimas fudisse dicitur, tanti viri intuens caput et generi quondam sui.

22

Mox Caesar Alexandriam venit. Ipsi quoque Ptolomaeus parare voluit insidias, qua causa bellum regi inlatum est. Victus in Nilo periit inventumque est corpus eius cum lorica aurea. Caesar Alexandria potitus regnum Cleopatrae dedit, Ptolomaei sorori, cum qua consuetudinem stupri habuerat. Rediens inde Caesar Pharnacen, Mithridatis Magni filium, qui Pompeio in auxilium apud Thessaliam fuerat, rebellantem in Ponto et multas populi Romani provincias occupantem vicit acie, postea ad mortem coegit.

23

Inde Romam regressus tertio se consulem fecit cum M. Aemilio Lepido, qui ei magister equitum dictatori ante annum fuerat. Inde in Africam profectus est, ubi infinita nobilitas cum Iuba, Mauretaniae rege, bellum reparaverat.

Duces autem Romani erant P. Cornelius Scipio ex genere antiquissimo Scipionis Africani (hic etiam socer Pompeii Magni fuerat), M. Petreius, Q. Varus, M. Porcius Cato, L. Cornelius Faustus, Sullae dictatoris filius. Contra hos commisso proelio, post multas dimicationes victor fuit Caesar. Cato, Scipio, Petreius, Iuba ipsi se occiderunt. Faustus, Sullae quondam dictatoris filius, Pompeii gener, a Caesare interfectus est.

24

Post annum Caesar Romam regressus quarto se consulem fecit et statim ad Hispanias est profectus, ubi Pompeii filii, Cn. Pompeius et Sex. Pompeius, ingens bellum praeparaverant. Multa proelia fuerunt, ultimum apud Mundam civitatem, in quo adeo Caesar paene victus est, ut fugientibus suis se voluerit occidere, ne post tantam rei militaris gloriam in potestatem adolescentium, natus annos sex et quinquaginta, veniret. Denique reparatis suis vicit. Ex Pompeii filiis maior occisus est, minor fugit.

25

Inde Caesar bellis civilibus toto orbe compositis Romam rediit. Agere insolentius coepit et contra consuetudinem Romanae libertatis. Cum ergo et honores ex sua voluntate praestaret, qui a populo antea deferebantur, nec senatui ad se venienti adsurgeret aliaque regia et paene tyrannica faceret, coniuratum est in eum a sexaginta vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque Romanis. Praecipui fuerunt inter coniuratos duo Bruti ex eo genere Bruti, qui primus Romae consul fuerat et reges expulerat, et C. Cassius et Servilius Casca. Ergo Caesar, cum senatus die inter ceteros venisset ad curiam, tribus et viginti vulneribus confossus est.

LIBER VII

1

Anno urbis septingentesimo fere ac nono interfecto Caesare civilia bella reparata sunt. Percussoribus enim Caesaris senatus favebat. Antonius consul partium Caesaris civilibus bellis opprimere eos conabatur. Ergo turbata re publica multa Antonius scelera committens a senatu hostis iudicatus est. Missi ad eum persequendum duo consules, Pansa et Hirtius, et Octavianus, adulescens annos X et VIII natus, Caesaris nepos, quem ille testamento heredem reliquerat et nomen suum ferre iusserat. Hic est, qui postea Augustus est dictus et rerum potitus. Qui profecti contra Antonium tres duces vicerunt eum. Evenit tamen ut victores consules ambo morerentur. Quare tres exercitus uni Caesari Augusto paruerunt.

2

Fugatus Antonius amisso exercitu confugit ad Lepidum, qui Caesaris magister equitum fuerat et tum militum copias grandes habebat, a quo susceptus est. Mox Lepido operam dante Caesar pacem cum Antonio fecit et quasi vindicaturus patris sui mortem, a quo per testamentum fuerat adoptatus, Romam cum exercitu profectus extorsit, ut sibi vicesimo anno consulatus daretur. Senatum proscripsit, cum Antonio ac Lepido rem publicam armis tenere coepit. Per hos etiam Cicero orator occisus est multique alii nobiles.

3

Interea Brutus et Cassius, interfectores Caesaris, ingens bellum moverunt. Erant enim per Macedoniam et Orientem multi exercitus, quos occupaverant. Profecti sunt igitur contra eos Caesar Octavianus Augustus et M. Antonius; remanserat enim ad defendendam Italiam Lepidus. Apud Philippos, Macedoniae urbem, contra eos pugnaverunt. Primo proelio victi sunt Antonius et Caesar, periit tamen dux nobilitatis Cassius, secundo Brutum et infinitam nobilitatem, quae cum illis bellum gesserat, victam interfecerunt. Ac sic inter eos divisa est res publica, ut Augustus Hispanias, Gallias et Italiam teneret, Antonius Asiam, Pontum, Orientem. Sed in Italia L. Antonius consul bellum civile commovit, frater eius, qui cum Caesare contra Brutum et Cassium

dimicaverat. Is apud Perusium, Tusciae civitatem, victus et captus est, neque occisus.

4

Interim a Sex. Pompeio, Cn. Pompeii Magni filio, ingens bellum in Sicilia commotum est his, qui superfuerant ex partibus Bruti Cassiique, ad eum confluentibus. Bellatum per Caesarem Augustum Octavianum et M. Antonium adversus Sex. Pompeium est. Pax postremo convenit.

5

Eo tempore M. Agrippa in Acquitania rem prospere gessit et L. Ventidius Bassus inrumpentes in Syriam Persas tribus proeliis vicit. Pacorum, regis Orodis filium, interfecit eo ipso die, quo olim Orodes, Persarum rex, per duces Surenas Crassum occiderat. Hic primus de Parthis iustissimum triumphum Romae egit.

6

Interim Pompeius pacem rupit et navali proelio victus fugiens ad Asiam interfectus est. Antonius, qui Asiam et Orientem tenebat, repudiata sorore Caesaris Augusti Octaviani Cleopatram, reginam Aegypti, duxit uxorem. Contra Persas etiam ipse pugnavit. Primis eos proeliis vicit, regrediens tamen fame et pestilentia laboravit et, cum instarent Parthi fugienti, ipse pro victo recessit.

7

Hic quoque ingens bellum civile commovit cogente uxore Cleopatra, regina Aegypti, dum cupiditate muliebri optat etiam in urbe regnare. Victus est ab Augusto navali pugna clara et inlustri apud Actium, qui locus in Epiro est, ex qua fugit in Aegyptum et desperatis rebus, cum omnes ad Augustum transirent, ipse se interemit. Cleopatra sibi aspidem admisit et veneno eius extincta est. Aegyptus per Octavianum Augustum imperio Romano adiecta est praepositusque ei C. Cornelius Gallus. Hunc primum Aegyptus Romanum iudicem habuit.

Ita bellis toto orbe confectis Octavianus Augustus Romam rediit, duodecimo anno, quam consul fuerat. Ex eo rem publicam per quadraginta et quattuor annos solus obtinuit. Ante enim duodecim annis cum Antonio et Lepido tenuerat. Ita ab initio principatus eius usque ad finem quinquaginta et sex anni fuerunt. Obiit autem septuagesimo sexto anno morte communi in oppido Campaniae Atella. Romae in campo Martio sepultus est, vir, qui non inmerito ex maxima parte deo similis est putatus. Neque enim facile ullus eo aut in bellis felicior fuit aut in pace moderatior. Quadraginta et quattuor annis, quibus solus gessit imperium, civilissime vixit, in cunctos liberalissimus, in amicos fidissimus, quos tantis evexit honoribus, ut paene aequaret fastigio suo.

Nulla tempore ante eum magis Romana res floruit. Nam exceptis civilibus bellis, in quibus invictus fuit, Romano adiecit imperio Aegyptum, Cantabriam, Dalmatiam saepe ante victam, sed penitus tunc subactam, Pannoniam, Aquitaniam, Illyricum, Raetiam, Vindelicos et Salassos in Alpibus, omnes Ponti maritimas civitates, in his nobilissimas Bosphorum et Panticapaeum. Vicit autem multis proeliis Dacos. Germanorum ingentes copias cecidit, ipsos quoque trans Albim fluvium summovit, qui in Barbarico longe ultra Rhenum est. Hoc tamen bellum per Drusum, privignum suum, administravit, sicut per Tiberium, privignum alterum, Pannonicum, quo bello XL captivorum milia ex Germania transtulit et supra ripam Rheni in Gallia conlocavit. Armeniam a Parthis recepit. Obsides, quod nulli antea, Persae ei dederunt. Reddiderunt etiam signa Romana, quae Crasso victo ademerant.

Scythae et Indi, quibus antea Romanorum nomen incognitum fuerat, munera et legatos ad eum miserunt. Galatia quoque sub hoc provincia facta est, cum antea regnum fuisset, primusque eam M. Lollius pro praetore administravit. Tanto autem amore etiam apud barbaros fuit, ut reges populi Romani amici in honorem eius conderent civitates, quas Caesareas nominarent, sicut in Mauritania a rege Iuba, et in Palaestina, quae nunc urbs est clarissima. Multi

autem reges ex regnis suis venerunt, ut ei obsequerentur, et habitu Romano, togati scilicet, ad vehiculum vel equum ipsius cucurrerunt. Moriens Divus appellatus. Rem publicam beatissimam Tiberio successori reliquit, qui privignus ei, mox gener, postremo adoptione filius fuerat.

11

Tiberius ingenti socordia imperium gessit, gravi crudelitate, scelestas avaritia, turpi libidine. Nam nusquam ipse pugnavit, bella per legatos gessit suos. Quosdam reges ad se per blanditias evocatos numquam remisit, in quibus Archelaum Cappadocem, cuius etiam regnum in provinciae formam redegit et maximam civitatem appellari nomine suo iussit, quae nunc Caesarea dicitur, cum Mazaca antea vocaretur. Hic tertio et vicesimo imperii anno, aetatis septuagesimo octavo, ingenti omnium gaudio mortuus est in Campania.

12

Successit ei C. Caesar, cognomento Caligula, Drusi, privigni Augusti, et ipsius Tiberii nepos, sceleratissimus ac funestissimus et qui etiam Tiberii dedecora purgaverit. Bellum contra Germanos suscepit et ingressus Sueviam nihil strenue fecit. Stupra sororibus intulit, ex una etiam filiam cognovit. Cum adversum cunctos ingenti avaritia, libidine, crudelitate saeviret, interfectus in Palatio est anno aetatis vicesimo nono, imperii tertio, mense decimo dieque octavo.

13

Post hunc Claudius fuit, patruus Caligulae, Drusi, qui apud Mogontiacum monumentum habet, filius, cuius et Caligula nepos erat. Hic medie imperavit, multa gerens tranquille atque moderate, quaedam crudeliter et insulse. Britanniae intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum post C. Caesarem attigerat, eaque devicta per Cn. Sentium et A. Plautium, inlustres ac nobiles viros, triumphum celebrem egit. Quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britannias in Oceano positas imperio Romano addidit, quae appellantur Orchades, filio autem suo Britannici nomen inposuit. Tam civilis autem circa quosdam amicos extitit, ut etiam Plautium, nobilem virum, qui expeditione Britannica multa egregie fecerat, triumphantem ipse prosequeretur et conscendenti

Capitolium laevus incederet. Is vixit annos IV et LX, imperavit XIV. Post mortem consecratus est Divusque appellatus.

14

Successit huic Nero, Caligulae, avunculo suo, simillimus, qui Romanum imperium et deformavit et diminuit, inusitatae luxuriae sumptuumque, ut qui exemplo C. Caligulae in calidis et frigidis lavaret unguentis, retibus aureis piscaretur, quae blattinis funibus extrahebat. Infinitam senatus partem interfecit, bonis omnibus hostis fuit. Ad postremum se tanto dedecore prostituit, ut et saltaret et cantaret in scaena citharoedico habitu vel tragico. Parricidia multa commisit, fratre, uxore, sorore, matre interfectis. Urbem Romam incendit, ut spectaculi eius imaginem cerneret, quali olim Troia capta arserat. In re militari nihil omnino ausus Britanniam paene amisit. Nam duo sub eo nobilissima oppida capta illic atque eversa sunt. Armeniam Parthi sustulerunt legionesque Romanas sub iugum miserunt. Duae tamen sub eo provinciae factae sunt, Pontus Polemoniacus concedente rege Polemone et Alpes Cottiae Cottio rege defuncto.

15

Per haec Romano orbi execrabilis ab omnibus simul destitutus est et a senatu hostis iudicatus; cum quaereretur ad poenam, quae poena erat talis, ut nudus per publicum ductus, furca capiti eius inserta, virgis usque ad mortem caederetur atque ita praecipitaretur a saxo, e Palatio fugit et in suburbano liberti sui, quod est inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam ad quartum urbis miliarium, se interfecit. Is aedificavit Romae thermas, quae ante Neronianae dictae nunc Alexandrianae appellantur. Obiit tricesimo et altero aetatis anno, imperii quarto decimo, atque in eo omnis Augusti familia consumpta est.

16

Huic Ser. Galba successit, antiquissimae nobilitatis senator, cum septuagesimum et tertium annum ageret aetatis, ab Hispanis et Gallis imperator electus, mox ab universo exercitu libenter acceptus. Nam privata eius vita insignis fuerat militaribus et civilibus rebus. Saepe consul, saepe pro consule, frequenter dux in gravissimis bellis. Huius breve imperium fuit et

quod bona haberet exordia, nisi ad severitatem propensior videretur. Insidiis tamen Othonis occisus est imperii mense septimo. Iugulatus in foro Romae sepultusque in hortis suis, qui sunt Aurelia via non longe ab urbe Roma.

17

Otho occiso Galba invasit imperium, materno genere nobilior quam paterno, neutro tamen obscuro. In privata vita mollis et Neroni familiaris, in imperio documentum sui non potuit ostendere. Nam cum isdem temporibus, quibus Otho Galbam occiderat, etiam Vitellius factus esset a Germanicianis exercitibus imperator, bello contra eum suscepto cum apud Betriacum in Italia levi proelio victus esset, ingentes tamen copias ad bellum haberet, sponte semet occidit. Petentibus militibus, ne tam cito de belli desperaret eventum, cum tanti se non esse dixisset, ut propter eum bellum civile moveretur, voluntaria morte obiit tricesimo et octavo aetatis anno, nonagesimo et quinto imperii die.

18

Dein Vitellius imperio potitus est, familia honorata magis quam nobili. Nam pater eius non admodum clare natus tres tamen ordinarios gesserat consulatus. Hic cum multo dedecore imperavit et gravi saevitia notabilis, praecipue ingluvie et voracitate, quippe cum de die saepe quarto vel quinto feratur epulatus. Notissima certe cena memoriae mandata est, quam ei Vitellius frater exhibuit, in qua super ceteros sumptus duo milia piscium, septem milia avium adposita traduntur. Hic cum Neroni similis esse vellet atque id adeo prae se ferret, ut etiam exequias Neronis, quae humiliter sepultae fuerant, honoraret, a Vespasiani ducibus occisus est interfecto prius in urbe Sabino, Vespasiani imperatoris fratre, quem cum Capitolio incendit. Interfectus autem est magno dedecore: tractus per urbem Romam publice, nudus, erecto coma capite et subiecto ad mentum gladio, stercore in vultum et pectus ab omnibus obviis adpetitus, postremo iugulatus et in Tiberim deiectus etiam communi caruit sepultura. Periiit autem aetatis anno septimo et quinquagesimo, imperii mense octavo et die uno.

19

Vespasianus huic successit, factus apud Palaestinam imperator, princeps

obscure quidem natus, sed optimis comparandus, privata vita inlustris, ut qui a Claudio in Germaniam et deinde in Britanniam missus tricies et bis cum hoste conflixerit, duas validissimas gentes, viginti oppida, insulam Vectam, Britanniae proximam, imperio Romano adiecerit. Romae se in imperio moderatissime gessit. Pecuniae tantum avidior fuit, ita tamen, ut eam nulli iniuste auferret. Quam cum omni diligentiae provisione colligeret, tamen studiosissime largiebatur, praecipue indigentibus. Nec facile ante eum cuiusquam principis vel maior est liberalitas comperta, vel iustior. Placidissimae lenitatis, ut qui maiestatis quoque contra se reos non facile punierit ultra exilii poenam. Sub hoc Iudaea Romano accessit imperio et Hierosolyma, quae fuit urbs nobilissima Palaestinae. Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum, quae liberae ante id tempus fuerant, item Thraciam, Ciliciam, Commagenen, quae sub regibus amicis egerant, in provinciarum formam redegit.

20

Offensarum et inimicitarum inmemor fuit, convicia a causicis et philosophis in se dicta leviter tulit, diligens tamen coercitor disciplinae militaris. Hic cum filio Tito de Hierosolymis triumphavit. Per haec cum senatui, populo, postremo cunctis amabilis ac iucundus esset, profluvio ventris extinctus est in villa propria circa Sabinos, annum agens aetatis sexagesimum nonum, imperii nonum et diem septimum, atque inter Divos relatus est. Genituram filiorum ita cognitam habuit, ut, cum multae contra eum coniurationes fierent, quas patefactas ingenti dissimulatione contempsit, in senatu dixerit aut filios sibi successuros, aut neminem.

21

Huic Titus filius successit, qui et ipse Vespasianus est dictus, vir omnium virtutum genere mirabilis adeo, ut amor et deliciae humani generis diceretur, facundissimus, bellicosissimus, moderatissimus. Causas Latine egit, poemata et tragoedias Graece composuit. In oppugnatione Hierosolymorum sub patre militans duodecim propugnatores duodecim sagittarum confixit ictibus. Romae tantae civilitatis in imperio fuit, ut nullum omnino puniret, convictos adversum se coniurationis dimiserit vel in eadem familiaritate, qua antea, habuerit. Facilitatis et liberalitatis tantae fuit, ut, cum nulli quicquam negaret

et ab amicis reprehenderetur, responderit nullum tristem debere ab imperatore discedere, praeterea, cum quadam die in cena recordatus fuisset nihil se illo die cuiquam praestitisse, dixerit: “Amici, hodie diem perdi”. Hic Romae amphitheatrum aedificavit et quinque milia ferarum in dedicatione eius occidit.

22

Per haec inusitato favore dilectus morbo periit in ea, qua pater, villa post biennium et menses octo, dies viginti, quam imperator erat factus, aetatis anno altero et quadragesimo. Tantus luctus eo mortuo publicus fuit, ut omnes tamquam in propria doluerint orbitate. Senatus obitu ipsius circa vesperam nuntiato nocte inrupit in curiam et tantas ei mortuo laudes gratiasque conguessit, quantas nec vivo umquam egerat nec praesenti. Inter Divos relatus est.

23

Domitianus mox accepit imperium, frater ipsius iunior, Neroni aut Caligulae aut Tiberio similior quam patri vel fratri suo. Primis tamen annis moderatus in imperio fuit, mox ad ingentia vitia progressus libidinis, iracundiae, crudelitatis, avaritiae tantum in se odii concitavit, ut merita et patris et fratris aboleret. Interfecit nobilissimos e senatu. Dominum se et deum primus appellari iussit. Nullam sibi nisi auream et argenteam statuam in Capitolio passus est poni. Consobrinos suos interfecit. Superbia quoque in eo execrabilis fuit. Expeditiones quattuor habuit, unam adversum Sarmatas, alteram adversum Cattos, duas adversum Dacos. De Dacis Cattisque duplicem triumphum egit, de Sarmatis solam lauream usurpavit. Multas tamen calamitates isdem bellis passus est; nam in Sarmatia legio eius cum duce interfecta est et a Dacis Oppius Sabinus consularis et Cornelius Fuscus, praefectus praetorio, cum magnis exercitibus occisi sunt. Romae quoque multa opera fecit, in his Capitolium et Forum Transitorium, Divorum Porticus, Isium ac Serapium et Stadium. Verum, cum ob scelera universis exosus esse coepisset, interfectus est suorum coniuratione in Palatio anno aetatis quadragesimo quinto, imperii quinto decimo. Funus eius ingenti dedecore per vespillones exportatum et ignobiliter est sepultum.

LIBER VIII

1

Anno octingentesimo et quinquagesimo ab urbe condita, Vetere et Valente consulibus res publica ad prosperrimum statum rediit bonis principibus ingenti felicitate commissa. Domitiano enim exitiabili tyranno, Nerva successit, vir in privata vita moderatus et strenuus, nobilitatis mediae. Qui senex admodum operam dante Petronio Secundo, praefecto praetorio, item Parthenio interfectore Domitiani, imperator est factus; aequissimum se et civilissimum praebuit. Rei publicae divina provisione consuluit Traianum adoptando. Mortuus est Romae post annum et quattuor menses imperii sui ac dies octo, aetatis septuagesimo et altero anno, atque inter Divos relatus est.

2

Successit ei Ulpus Crinitus Traianus, natus Italicae in Hispania, familia antiqua magis quam clara. Nam pater eius primum consul fuit. Imperator autem apud Agrippinam in Galliis factus est. Rem publicam ita administravit, ut omnibus principibus merito praeferatur, inusitatae civilitatis et fortitudinis. Romani imperii, quod post Augustum defensum magis fuerat quam nobiliter ampliatum, fines longe lateque diffudit. Urbes trans Rhenum in Germania reparavit. Daciam Decibalo victo subegit, provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Taifali, Victoali et Tervingi habent. Ea provincia decies centena milia passuum in circuitu tenuit.

3

Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi recepit, Parthomasiri occiso, qui eam tenebat. Albanis regem dedit. Hiberorum regem et Sauromatarum et Bosphoranorum et Arabum et Osdroenorum et Colchorum in fidem accepit. Carduenos, Marcomedos occupavit et Anthemusium, magnam Persidis regionem, Seleuciam, Ctesiphontem, Babylonem; Messenios vicit ac tenuit. Usque ad Indiae fines et mare Rubrum accessit atque ibi tres provincias fecit, Armeniam, Assyriam, Mesopotamiam, cum his gentibus, quae Madenam attingunt. Arabiam postea in provinciae formam redegit. In mari Rubro classem instituit, ut per eam Indiae fines vastaret.

Gloriam tamen militarem civitate et moderatione superavit, Romae et per provincias aequalem se omnibus exhibens, amicos salutandi causa frequentans vel aegrotantes vel cum festos dies habuissent, convivias cum isdem indiscreta vicissim habens, saepe in vehiculis eorum sedens, nullum senatorum laedens, nihil iniustum ad augendum fiscum agens, liberalis in cunctos, publice privatimque ditans omnes et honoribus augens, quos vel mediocri familiaritate cognovisset, per orbem terrarum aedificans multa, immunitates civitatibus tribuens, nihil non tranquillum et placidum agens, adeo ut omni eius aetate unus senator damnatus sit atque is tamen per senatum ignorante Traiano. Ob haec per orbem terrarum deo proximus nihil non venerationis meruit et vivus et mortuus.

5

Inter alia dicta hoc ipsius fertur egregium. Amicis enim culpantibus, quod nimium circa omnes communis esset, respondit talem se imperatorem esse privatis, quales esse sibi imperatores privatus optasset. Post ingentem igitur gloriam belli domique quaesitam e Perside rediens apud Seleuciam Isauriae profluvio ventris extinctus est. Obiit autem aetatis anno sexagesimo tertio, mense nono, die quarto, imperii nono decimo, mense sexto, die quinto decimo. Inter Divos relatus est solusque omnium intra urbem sepultus est. Ossa conlata in urnam auream in foro, quod aedificavit, sub columna posita sunt, cuius altitudo CXLIV pedes habet. Huius tantum memoriae delatum est, ut usque ad nostram aetatem non aliter in senatu principibus adclametur, nisi "Felicior Augusto, melior Traiano". Adeo in eo gloria bonitatis obtinuit, ut vel adsentantibus vel vere laudantibus occasionem magnificentissimi praestet exempli.

6

Defuncto Traiano Aelius Hadrianus creatus est princeps, sine aliqua quidem voluntate Traiani, sed operam dante Plotina, Traiani uxore; nam eum Traianus, quamquam consobrinae suae filium, vivus noluerat adoptare. Natus et ipse Italiae in Hispania. Qui Traiani gloriae invidens statim provincias tres reliquit, quas Traianus addiderat, et de Assyria, Mesopotamia, Armenia

revocavit exercitus ac finem imperii esse voluit Euphraten. Idem de Dacia facere conatum amici deterruerunt, ne multi cives Romani barbaris traderentur, propterea quia Traianus victa Dacia ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas. Dacia enim diuturno bello Decibali viris fuerat exhausta.

7

Pacem tamen omni imperii sui tempore habuit, semel tantum per praesidem dimicavit. Orbem Romanum circumiit; multa aedificavit. Facundissimus Latino sermone, Graeco eruditissimus fuit. Non magnam clementiae gloriam habuit, diligentissimus tamen circa aerarium et militum disciplinam. Obiit in Campania maior sexagenario, imperii anno vicesimo primo, mense decimo, die vicesimo nono. Senatus ei tribuere noluit divinos honores, tamen cum successor ipsius T. Aurelius Antoninus Fulvius hoc vehementer exigeret, etsi universi senatores palam resisterent, tandem obtinuit.

8

Ergo Hadriano successit T. Antoninus Fulvius Boionius, idem etiam Pius nominatus, genere claro, sed non admodum vetere, vir insignis et qui merito Numae Pompilio conferatur, ita ut Romulo Traianus aequetur. Vixit ingenti honestate privatus, maiore in imperio, nulli acerbus, cunctis benignus, in re militari moderata gloria, defendere magis provincias quam amplificare studens, viros aequissimos ad administrandam rem publicam quaerens, bonis honorem habens, improbos sine aliqua acerbitate detestans, regibus amicis venerabilis non minus quam terribilis, adeo ut barbarorum plurimae nationes depositis armis ad eum controversias suas litesque deferrent sententiaeque parerent. Hic ante imperium ditissimus opes quidem omnes suas stipendiis militum et circa amicos liberalitatibus minuit, verum aerarium opulentum reliquit. Pius propter clementiam dictus est. Obiit apud Lorium, villam suam, miliario ab urbe duodecimo, vitae anno septuagesimo tertio, imperii vicesimo tertio, atque inter Divos relatus est et merito consecratus.

9

Post hunc imperavit M. Antoninus Verus, haud dubie nobilissimus, quippe

cum eius origo paterna a Numa Pompilio, materna a Solentino rege penderet, et cum eo L. Annius Antoninus Verus. Tumque primum Romana res publica duobus aequo iure imperium administrantibus paruit, cum usque ad eum singulos semper habuisset Augustos.

10

Hi et genere inter se coniuncti fuerunt et adfinitate. Nam Verus Annius Antoninus M. Antonini filiam in matrimonium habuit, M. autem Antoninus gener Antonini Pii fuit per uxorem Galeriam Faustinam iuniorem, consobrinam suam. Hi bellum contra Parthos gesserunt, qui post victoriam Traiani tum primum rebellaverant. Verus Antoninus ad id profectus est. Qui Antiochiae et circa Armeniam agens multa per duces suos et ingentia patravit. Seleuciam, Assyriae urbem nobilissimam, cum quadringentis milibus hominum cepit; Parthicum triumphum revexit. Cum fratre eodemque socero triumphavit. Obiit tamen in Venetia, cum a Concordia civitate Altinum proficisceretur et cum fratre in vehiculo sederet, subito sanguine ictus, casu morbi, quem Graeci apoplexin vocant. Vir ingenii parum civilis, reverentia tamen fratris nihil umquam atrox ausus. Cum obisset undecimo imperii anno, inter deos relatus est.

11

Post eum M. Antoninus solus rem publicam tenuit, vir quem mirari facilius quis quam laudare possit. A principio vitae tranquillissimus, adeo ut ex infantia quoque vultum nec ex gaudio nec ex maerore mutaverit. Philosophiae deditus Stoicae, ipse etiam non solum vitae moribus, sed etiam eruditione philosophus. Tanta admirationis adhuc iuvenis, ut eum successorem paraverit Hadrianus relinquere, adoptato tamen Antonino Pio generum ei idcirco esse voluerit, ut hoc ordine ad imperium perveniret.

12

Institutus est ad philosophiam per Apollonium Chalcedonium, ad scientiam litterarum Graecarum per Sextus Chaeronensem, Plutarchi nepotem, Latinas autem eum litteras Fronto, orator nobilissimus, docuit. Hic cum omnibus Romae aequo iure egit, ad nullam insolentiam elatus est imperii fastigio;

liberalitatis promptissimae. Provincias ingenti benignitate et moderatione tractavit. Contra Germanos eo principe res feliciter gestae sunt. Bellum ipse unum gessit Marcomannicum, sed quantum nulla memoria fuit, adeo ut Punicis conferatur. Nam eo gravius est factum, quod universi exercitus Romani perierant. Sub hoc enim tantus casus pestilentiae fuit, ut post victoriam Persicam Romae ac per Italiam provinciasque maxima hominum pars, militum omnes fere copiae languore defecerint.

13

Ingenti ergo labore et moderatione, cum apud Carnuntum iugi triennio perseverasset, bellum Marcomannicum confecit, quod cum his Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Suevi atque omnis barbaria commoverat, multa hominum milia interfecit, ac Pannoniis servitio liberatis Romae rursus cum Commodo Antonino, filio suo, quem iam Caesarem fecerat, triumphavit. Ad huius belli sumptum cum aerario exhausto largitiones nullas haberet neque indicere provincialibus aut senatui aliquid vellet, instrumentum regii cultus facta in foro divi Traiani sectione distraxit, vasa aurea, pocula crystallina et murrina, uxori ac suam sericam et auream vestem, multa ornamenta gemmarum. Ac per duos continuos menses ea venditio habita est multumque auri redactum. Post victoriam tamen emptoribus pretia restituit, qui reddere comparata voluerunt; molestus nulli fuit, qui maluit semel empta retinere.

14

Hic permisit viris clarioribus, ut convivia eodem cultu quo ipse et ministris similibus exhiberent. In editione munerum post victoriam adeo magnificus fuit, ut centum simul leones exhibuisse tradatur. Cum igitur fortunatam rem publicam et virtute et mansuetudine reddidisset, obiit XVIII imperii anno, vitae LXI, et omnibus certatim adnitentibus inter Divos relatus est.

15

Huius successor L. Antoninus Commodus nihil paternum habuit, nisi quod contra Germanos feliciter et ipse pugnavit. Septembrem mensem ad nomen suum transferre conatus est, ut Commodus diceretur. Sed luxuria et obscenitate depravatus gladiatoriiis armis saepissime in ludo, deinceps etiam in

amphitheatro cum huiusmodi hominibus dimicavit. Obiit morte subita atque adeo, ut strangulatus vel veneno interfectus putaretur, cum annis XII post patrem et VIII mensibus imperasset, tanta execratione omnium, ut hostis humani generis etiam mortuus iudicaretur.

16

Huic successit Pertinax, grandaevus iam et qui septuagenariam attingisset aetatem, praefecturam urbi tum agens, ex senatus consulto imperare iussus. Octogesimo die imperii praetorianorum militum seditione et Iuliani scelere occisus est.

17

Post eum Salvius Iulianus rem publicam invasit, vir nobilis et iure peritissimus, nepos Salvii Iuliani, qui sub Divo Hadriano perpetuum composuit edictum. Victus est a Severo apud Mulvium pontem, interfectus in Palatio. Vixit mensibus septem, postquam coeperat imperare.

18

Hinc imperii Romani administrationem Septimius Severus accepit, oriundus ex Africa, provincia Tripolitana, oppido Lepti. Solus omni memoria et ante et postea ex Africa imperator fuit. Hic primum fisci advocatus, mox militaris tribunus, per multa deinde et varia officia atque honores usque ad administrationem totius rei publicae venit. Pertinacem se appellari voluit in honorem eius Pertinacis, qui a Iuliano fuerat occisus. Parcus admodum fuit, natura saevus. Bella multa et feliciter gessit. Pescennium Nigrum, qui in Aegypto et Syria rebellaverat, apud Cyzicum interfecit. Parthos vicit et Arabas interiores et Adiabenos. Arabas eo usque superavit, ut etiam provinciam ibi faceret. Idcirco Parthicus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus dictus est. Multa toto orbe Romano reparavit. Sub eo etiam Clodius Albinus, qui in occidendo Pertinace socius fuerat Iuliano, Caesarem se in Gallia fecit, victusque apud Lugdunum et interfectus.

19

Severus tamen praeter bellicam gloriam etiam civilibus studiis clarus fuit et

litteris doctus, philosophiae scientiam ad plenum adeptus. Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit, utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per CXXXIII passuum milia a mari ad mare deduxit. Decessit Eboraci admodum senex, imperii anno sexto decimo, mense tertio. Divus appellatus est. Nam filios duos successores reliquit, Bassianum et Getam, sed Bassiano Antonini nomen a senatu voluit inponi. Itaque dictus est M. Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus patrique successit. Nam Geta hostis publicus indicatus confestim periit.

20

M. igitur Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, idemque Caracalla, morum fere paternorum fuit, paulo asperior et minax. Opus Romae egregium fecit lavacri, quae thermae Antoninianae appellantur, nihil praeterea memorabile. Inpatientis libidinis, qui novercam suam Iuliam uxorem duxerit. Defunctus est in Osdroena apud Edessam moliens adversum Parthos expeditionem anno imperii sexto, mense secundo, vix egressus quadragesimum tertium annum. Funere publico elatus est.

21

Deinde Opilius Macrinus, qui praefectus praetorio erat, cum filio Diadumeno facti imperatores nihil memorabile ex temporis brevitate gesserunt. Nam imperium eorum duum mensium et unius anni fuit. Seditione militari ambo pariter occisi sunt.

22

Creatus est post hos M. Aurelius Antoninus. Hic Antonini Caracallae filius putabatur, sacerdos autem Heliogabali templi erat. Is cum Romam ingenti et militum et senatus expectatione venisset, probris se omnibus contaminavit. Inpudicissime et obscenissime vixit, biennioque post et octo mensibus tumultu interfectus est militari et cum eo mater Symiasera.

23

Successit huic Aurelius Alexander, ab exercitu Caesar, a senatu Augustus nominatus, invenis admodum, susceptoque adversus Persas bello Xerxen,

eorum regem, gloriosissime vicit. Militarem disciplinam severissime rexit. Quasdam tumultuantes legiones integras exauctoravit. Adsessorem habuit vel scrinii magistrum Ulpianum, iuris conditorem. Romae quoque favorabilis fuit. Periit in Gallia militari tumultu tertio decimo imperii anno et die nono. In Mamaeam, matrem suam, unice pius.

LIBER IX

1

Post hunc Maximinus ex corpore militari primus ad imperium accessit sola militum voluntate, cum nulla senatus intercessisset auctoritas neque ipse senator esset. Is bello adversus Germanos feliciter gesto cum a militibus imperator esset appellatus, a Pupieno Aquileiae occisus est deserentibus eum militibus suis cum filio adhuc puero, cum quo imperaverat triennio et paucis diebus.

2

Postea tres simul Augusti fuerunt, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordianus, duo superiores obscurissimo genere, Gordianus nobilis, quippe cuius pater, senior Gordianus, consensu militum, cum proconsulatum Africae gereret, Maximino imperante princeps fuisset electus. Itaque cum Romam venissent, Balbinus et Pupienus in Palatio interfecti sunt, soli Gordiano imperium reservatum. Gordianus admodum puer cum Tranquillinam Romae duxisset uxorem, Ianum Geminum aperuit et ad Orientem profectus Parthis bellum intulit, qui iam moliebantur erumpere. Quod quidem feliciter gessit proeliisque ingentibus Persas adflixit. Rediens haud longe a Romanis finibus interfectus est fraude Philippi, qui post eum imperavit. Miles ei tumulum vicesimo miliario a Circesio, quod castrum nunc Romanorum est Euphratae imminens, aedificavit, exequias Romam revexit, ipsum Divum appellavit.

3

Philippi duo, filius ac pater, Gordiano occiso imperium invaserunt atque exercitu incolumi reducto ad Italiam ex Syria profecti sunt. His imperantibus millesimus annus Romae urbis ingenti ludorum apparatu spectaculorumque celebratus est. Ambo deinde ab exercitu interfecti sunt, senior Philippus Veronae, Romae iunior. Annis quinque imperaverunt; inter Divos tamen relati sunt.

4

Post hos Decius e Pannonia inferiore Budaliae natus imperium sumpsit. Bellum civile, quod in Gallia motum, fuerat oppressit. Filium suum Caesarem fecit. Romae lavacrum aedificavit. Cum imperassent biennio ipse et filius, uterque in Barbarico interfecti sunt. Senior meruit inter Divos referri.

5

Mox imperatores creati sunt Gallus Hostilianus et Galli filius Volusianus. Sub his Aemilianus in Moesia res novas molitus est; ad quem opprimendum cum ambo profecti essent, Interamnae interfecti sunt non completo biennio. Nihil omnino clarum gesserunt. Sola pestilentia et morbis atque aegritudinibus notus eorum principatus fuit.

6

Aemilianus obscurissime natus obscurius imperavit ac tertio mense extinctus est.

7

Hinc Licinius Valerianus in Raetia et Norico agens ab exercitu imperator et mox Augustus est factus. Gallienus quoque Romae a senatu Caesar est appellatus. Horum imperium Romano nomini perniciosum et paene exitiabile fuit vel infelicitate principum vel ignavia. Germani Ravennam usque venerunt. Valerianus in Mesopotamia bellum gerens a Sapore, Persarum rege, superatus est, mox etiam captus apud Parthos ignobili servitute consenuit.

8

Gallienus, cum adulescens factus esset Augustus, imperium primum feliciter, mox commode, ad ultimum perniciose gessit. Nam iuvenis in Gallia et Illyrico multa strenue fecit occiso apud Mursam Ingenuo, qui purpuram sumpserat, et Trebelliano. Diu placidus et quietus, mox in omnem lasciviam dissolutus, tenendae rei publicae habenas probrosa ignavia et desperatione laxavit. Alamanni vastatis Galliis in Italiam penetraverunt. Dacia, quae a Traiano ultra Danubium fuerat adiecta, tum amissa, Graecia, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia vastata est per Gothos, Pannonia a Sarmatis Quadisque populata est, Germani usque ad Hispanias penetraverunt et civitatem nobilem Tarraconem

expugnaverunt, Parthi Mesopotamia occupata Syriam sibi coeperant vindicare.

9

Iam desperatis rebus et deleto paene imperio Romano Postumus in Gallia, obscurissime natus, purpuram sumpsit et per annos decem ita imperavit, ut consumptas paene provincias ingenti virtute et moderatione reparaverit. Qui seditione militum interfectus est, quod Mogontiacum civitatem, quae adversus eum rebellaverat Laeliano res novas moliente, diripiendam militibus tradere noluisset. Post eum Marius, vilissimus opifex, purpuram accepit et secundo die interfectus est. Victorinus postea Galliarum accepit imperium, vir strenuissimus, sed cum nimiae libidinis esset et matrimonia aliena corrumperet, Agrippinae occisus est actuario quodam dolum machinante, imperii sui anno secundo.

10

Huic successit Tetricus senator, qui Aquitaniam honore praesidis administrans absens a militibus imperator electus est et apud Burdigalam purpuram sumpsit. Seditiones multas militum pertulit. Sed dum haec in Gallia geruntur, in Oriente per Odenathum Persae victi sunt. Defensa Syria, recepta Mesopotamia usque ad Ctesiphontem Odenathus penetravit.

11

Ita Gallieno rem publicam deserente Romanum imperium in Occidente per Postumum, per Odenathum in Oriente servatum est. Gallienus interea Mediolani cum Valeriano fratre occisus est imperii anno nono Claudiusque ei successit a militibus electus, a senatu appellatus Augustus. Hic Gothos Illyricum Macedoniamque vastantes ingenti proelio vicit. Parcus vir ac modestus et iusti tenax ac rei publicae gerendae idoneus, qui tamen intra imperii biennium morbo interiit. Divus appellatus est. Senatus eum ingenti honore decoravit, scilicet ut in curia clipeus ipsi aureus, item in Capitolio statua aurea poneretur.

12

Quintillus post eum, Claudii frater, consensu militum imperator electus est, unicae moderationis vir et civilitatis, aequandus fratri vel praeponendus. Consensu senatus appellatus Augustus septimo decimo imperii die occisus est.

13

Post eum Aurelianus suscepit imperium, Dacia Ripensi oriundus, vir in bello potens, animi tamen inmodici et ad crudelitatem propensioris. Is quoque Gothos strenuissime vicit. Romanam dicionem ad fines pristinos varia bellorum felicitate revocavit. Superavit in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cuius adsiduas seditiones ferre non poterat. Quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianus ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia versu Vergiliano uteretur: “Eripe me his, invicte, malis”. Zenobiam quoque, quae occiso Odenatho marito Orientem tenebat, haud longe ab Antiochia sine gravi proelio cepit, ingressusque Romam nobilem triumphum quasi receptor Orientis Occidentisque egit praecedentibus curram Tetrico et Zenobia. Qui quidem Tetricus corrector Lucaniae postea fuit ac privatus diutissime vixit; Zenobia autem posteros, qui adhuc manent, Romae reliquit.

14

Hoc imperante etiam in urbe monetarii rebellaverunt vitiatis pecuniis et Felicissimo rationali interfecto. Quos Aurelianus victos ultima crudelitate conpescuit. Plurimos nobiles capite damnavit. Saevus et sanguinarius ac necessarius magis in quibusdam quam in ullo amabilis imperator. Trux omni tempore, etiam filii sororis interfector, disciplinae tamen militaris et morum dissolutorum magna ex parte corrector.

15

Urbem Romam muris firmioribus cinxit. Templum Soli aedificavit, in quo infinitum auri gemmarumque constituit. Provinciam Daciam, quam Traianus ultra Danubium fecerat, intermisit, vastato omni Illyrico et Moesia, desperans eam posse retinere, abductosque Romanos ex urbibus et agris Daciae in media Moesia collocavit appellavitque eam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit et est in dextra Danubio in mare fluenti, cum antea fuerit in laeva. Occiditur servi sui fraude, qui ad quosdam militares viros, amicos ipsius, nomina

pertulit adnotata, falso manum eius imitatus, tamquam Aurelianus ipsos pararet occidere; itaque ut praeveniretur, ab isdem interfectus est in itineris medio, quod inter Constantinopolim et Heracleam est stratae veteris; locus Caenophrurium appellatur. Mors tamen eius inulta non fuit. Meruit quoque inter Divos referri.

16

Tacitus post hunc suscepit imperium, vir egregie moratus et rei publicae gerendae idoneus. Nihil tamen clarum potuit ostendere intra sextum mensem imperii morte praeventus. Florianus, qui Tacito successerat, duobus mensibus et diebus XX in imperio fuit neque quicquam dignum memoria egit.

17

Post hunc Probus, vir inlustris gloria militari, ad administrationem rei publicae accessit. Gallias a barbaris occupatas ingenti proeliorum felicitate restituit. Quosdam imperium usurpare conatos, scilicet Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae, certaminibus oppressit. Vineas Gallos et Pannonios habere permisit, opere militari Almam montem apud Sirmium et Aureum apud Moesiam superiorem vineis conseruit et provincialibus colendos dedit. Hic cum bella innumera gessisset, pace parata dixit brevi milites necessarios non futuros. Vir acer, strenuus, iustus et qui Aurelianum aequaret gloria militari, morum autem civilitate superaret. Interfectus tamen est Sirmii tumultu militari in turri ferrata.

18

Post hunc Carus est factus Augustus, Narbone natus in Gallia. Is confestim Carinum et Numerianum filios Caesares fecit. Sed dum bellum adversus Sarmatas gerit, nuntiato Persarum tumultu ad Orientem profectus res contra Persas nobiles gessit. Ipsos proelio fudit, Cochen et Ctesiphontem, urbes nobilissimas, cepit. Et cum castra super Tigridem haberet, vi divini fulminis periit. Numerianus quoque, filius eius, quem secum Caesarem ad Persas duxerat, adulescens egregiae indolis, cum oculorum dolore correptus in lecticula veheretur, impulsore Apro, qui socer eius erat, per insidias occisus est. Et cum dolo occultaretur ipsius mors, quousque Aper invadere posset

imperium, foetore cadaveris prodita est. Milites enim, qui eum sequebantur, putore commoti deductis lecticulae palliis post aliquot dies mortem eius notam habere potuerunt.

19

Interea Carinus, quem Caesarem ad Parthos proficiscens Carus in Illyrico, Gallia, Italia reliquerat, omnibus se sceleribus inquinavit. Plurimos innoxios fictis criminibus occidit, matrimonia nobilia corrumpit, condiscipulis quoque, qui eum in auditorio vel levi fatigatione taxaverant, perniciosus fuit. Ob quae omnibus hominibus invisus non multo post poenas dedit. Nam de Perside victor exercitus rediens, cum Carum Augustum fulmine, Numerianum Caesarem insidiis perdidisset, Diocletianum imperatorem creavit, Dalmatia oriundum, virum obscurissime natum, adeo ut a plerisque scribae filius, a nonnullis Anullini senatoris libertinus fuisse credatur.

20

Is prima militum contione iuravit Numerianum nullo suo dolo interfectum, et cum iuxta eum Aper, qui Numeriano insidias fecerat, constitisset, in conspectu exercitus manu Diocletiani percussus est. Postea Carinum omnium odio et detestatione viventem apud Margum ingenti proelio vicit, proditum ab exercitu suo, quem fortiorem habebat, aut certe desertum, inter Viminacium atque Aureum montem. Ita rerum Romanarum potitus cum tumultum rusticani in Gallia concitassent et factioni suae Bacaudarum nomen inponerent, duces autem haberent Amandum et Aelianum, ad subigendos eos Maximianum Herculium Caesarem misit, qui levibus proeliis agrestes domuit et pacem Galliae reformavit.

21

Per haec tempora etiam Carausius qui vilissime natus strenuae militiae ordine famam egregiam fuerat consecutus, cum apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicae et Armorici pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant. Multis barbaris saepe captis nec praeda integra aut provincialibus reddita aut imperatoribus missa cum suspicio esse coepisset consulto ab eo admitti barbaros, ut transeuntes cum praeda exciperet atque hac se occasione ditaret, a

Ita cum per omnem orbem terrarum res turbatae essent, Carausius in Britannias rebellaret, Achilleus in Aegypto, Africam Quinquegentiani infestarent, Narseus Orienti bellum inferret, Diocletianus Maximianum Herculium ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Caesares, quorum Constantius per filiam nepos Claudii traditur, Maximianus Galerius in Dacia haud longe a Serdica natus. Atque ut eos etiam adfinitate coniungeret, Constantius privignam Herculii Theodoram accepit, ex qua postea sex liberos, Constantini fratres, habuit, Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam, ambo uxores, quas habuerant, repudiare compulsi. Cum Carausio tamen, cum bella frustra temptata essent contra virum rei militaris peritissimum, ad postremum pax convenit. Eum post septennium Allectus, socius eius, occidit atque ipse post eum Britannias triennio tenuit. Qui ductu Asclepiodoti, praefecti praetorio, oppressus est. Ita Britanniae decimo anno receptae.

Per idem tempus a Constantio Caesare in Gallia bene pugnatum est. Circa Lingonas die una adversam et secundam fortunam expertus est. Nam cum repente barbaris ingruentibus intra civitatem esset coactus tam praecipiti necessitate, ut clausis portis in murum funibus tolleretur, vix quinque horis mediis adventante exercitu sexaginta fere milia Alamannorum cecidit. Maximianus quoque Augustus bellum in Africa profligavit domitis Quinquegentianis et ad pacem redactis. Diocletianus obsessum Alexandriae Achilleum octavo fere mense superavit eumque interfecit. Victoria acerbè usus est; totam Aegyptum gravibus proscriptionibus caedibusque foedavit. Ea tamen occasione ordinavit provide multa et disposuit, quae ad nostram aetatem manent.

Galerius Maximianus primum adversus Narseum proelium insecundum habuit inter Callinicum Carrasque congressus, cum inconsulte magis quam ignave

dimicasset; admodum enim parva manu cum copiosissimo hoste commisit. Pulsus igitur et ad Diocletianum profectus cum ei in itinere occurrisset, tanta insolentia a Diocletiano fertur exceptus, ut per aliquot passuum milia purpuratus tradatur ad vehiculum cucurrisse.

25

Mox tamen per Illyricum Moesiamque contractis copiis rursus cum Narseo, Hormisdæ et Saporis avo, in Armenia maiore pugnavit successu ingenti nec minore consilio, simul fortitudine, quippe qui etiam speculatoris munus cum altero aut tertio equite susceperit. Pulso Narseo castra eius diripuit; uxores, sorores, liberos cepit, infinitam extrinsecus Persarum nobilitatem, gazam Persicam copiosissimam. Ipsum in ultimas regni solitudines egit. Quare a Diocletiano in Mesopotamia cum praesidiis tum morante ovans regressus ingenti honore susceptus est. Varia deinceps et simul et viritim bella gesserunt Carpis et Basternis subactis, Sarmatis victis, quarum nationum ingentes captivorum copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt.

26

Diocletianus moratus callide fuit, sagax praeterea et admodum subtilis ingenii, et qui severitatem suam aliena invidia vellet explere. Diligentissimus tamen et sollertissimus princeps et qui imperio Romano primus regiae consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanae libertatis invexerit adorarique se iussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur. Ornamenta gemmarum vestibis calciamentisque indidit. Nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde purpurea tantum erat, reliqua communia.

27

Herculius autem propalam ferus et incivilis ingenii, asperitatem suam etiam vultus horrore significans. Hic naturae suae indulgens Diocletiano in omnibus est saevioribus consiliis obsecutus. Cum tamen ingravescente aevo parum se idoneum Diocletianus moderando imperio esse sentiret, auctor Herculio fuit, ut in vitam privatam concederent et stationem tuendae rei publicae viridioribus iunioribusque mandarent. Cui aegre collega obtemperavit. Tamen uterque uno die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit, Nicomediae

Diocletianus, Herculus Mediolani, post triumphum inclitum, quem Romae ex numerosis gentibus egerant, pompa ferculorum inlustri, qua Narsei coniuges sororesque et liberi ante currum ducti sunt. Concesserunt tamen Salonas unus, alter in Lucaniam.

Diocletianus privatus in villa, quae haud procul a Salonis est, praeclaro otio consenuit, inusitata virtute usus, ut solus omnium post conditum Romanum imperium ex tanto fastigio sponte ad privatae vitae statum civilitatemque remearet. Contigit igitur ei, quod nulli post natos homines, ut cum privatus obisset, inter Divos tamen referretur.

LIBER X

1

His igitur abeuntibus administratione rei publicae Constantius et Galerius Augusti creati sunt divisusque inter eos ita Romanus orbis, ut Galliam, Italiam, Africam Constantius, Illyricum, Asiam, Orientem Galerius obtineret, sumptis duobus Caesaribus. Constantius tamen, contentus dignitate Augusti Italiae atque Africae administrandae sollicitudinem recusavit, vir egregius et praestantissimae civilitatis, divitiis provincialium ac privatorum studens, fisci commoda non admodum adfectans, dicensque melius publicas opes a privatis haberi quam intra unum claustrum reservari, adeo autem cultus modici, ut festis diebus, si amicis numerosioribus esset epulandum, privatorum ei argento ostiatim petito triclinia sternerentur. Hic non modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit, praecipue quod Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam et Maximiani sanguinariam temeritatem imperio eius evaserant. Obiit in Britannia Eboraci principatus anno tertio decimo atque inter Divos relatus est.

2

Galerius vir et probe moratus et egregius re militari, cum Italiam quoque sinente Constantio administrationi suae accessisse sentiret, Caesares duos creavit, Maximinum, quem Orienti praefecit, et Severum, cui Italiam dedit. Ipse in Illyrico moratus est. Verum Constantio mortuo Constantinus, ex obscuriore matrimonio eius filius, in Britannia creatus est imperator et in locum patris exoptatissimus moderator accessit. Romae interea praetoriani excito tumultu Maxentium, Herculi filium, qui haud procul ab urbe in villa publica morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt. Quo nuntio Maximianus Hercules ad spem arrectus resumendi fastigii, quod invitus amiserat, Romam advolavit e Lucania, quam sedem privatus elegerat in agris amoenissimis consenesens, Diocletianumque etiam per litteras adhortatus est, ut depositam resumeret potestatem, quas ille irrisas habuit. Sed adversum motum praetorianorum atque Maxentii Severus Caesar Romam missus a Galerio cum exercitu venit obsidensque urbem militum suorum scelere desertus est. Auctae Maxentii opes confirmatumque imperium. Severus fugiens Ravennae

interfectus est.

3

Herculius tamen Maximianus post haec in contione exercituum filium Maxentium nudare conatus seditionem et convicia militum tulit. Inde ad Gallias profectus est dolo composito, tamquam a filio esset expulsus, ut Constantino genero iungeretur, moliens tamen Constantinum reperta occasione interficere, qui in Galliis et militum et provincialium ingenti iam favore regnabat caesis Francis atque Alamannis captisque eorum regibus, quos etiam bestiis, cum magnificum spectaculum muneris parasset, obiecit. Detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quae dolum viro enuntiaverat, profugit Herculius Massiliaeque oppressus (ex ea enim navigare ad filium praeparabat) poenas dedit iustissimo exitu, vir ad omnem acerbiteriam saevitiamque proclivis, infidus, incommodus, civilitatis penitus expertus.

4

Per hoc tempus a Galerio Licinius imperator est factus, Dacia oriundus, notus ei antiqua consuetudine et in bello, quod adversus Narseum gesserat, strenuis laboribus et officiis acceptus. Mors Galerii confestim secuta. Ita res publica tum a novis quattuor imperatoribus tenebatur, Constantino et Maxentio, filiis Augustorum, Licinio et Maximino, novis hominibus. Quinto tamen Constantinus imperii sui anno bellum adversum Maxentium civile commovit, copias eius multis proeliis fudit, ipsum postremo Romae adversum nobiles omnibus exitiis saevientem apud pontem Mulvium vicit Italiaque est potitus. Non multo deinceps in Oriente quoque adversum Licinium Maximinus res novas molitus vicinum exitium fortuita apud Tarsum morte praevenit.

5

Constantinus tamen, vir ingens et omnia efficere nitens, quae animo praeparasset, simul principatum totius orbis adfectans, Licinio bellum intulit, quamquam necessitudo et adfinitas cum eo esset; nam soror Constantia nupta Licinio erat. Ac primo eum in Pannonia secunda ingenti apparatu bellum apud Cibalas instruente repentinus oppressit omnique Dardania, Moesia, Macedonia potitus numerosas provincias occupavit.

Varia deinceps inter eos bella gesta et pax reconciliata ruptaque est. Postremo Licinius navali et terrestri proelio victus apud Nicomediam se dedit et contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicae privatus occisus est. Eo tempore res Romana sub uno Augusto et tribus Caesaribus, quod numquam alias, fuit, cum liberi Constantini Galliae, Orienti Italiaeque praeessent. Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinus ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus egregium virum filium et sororis filium, commodae indolis iuvenem, interfecit, mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos.

Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Innumerae in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt. Militaris gloriae adpetentissimus, fortuna in bellis prospera fuit, verum ita, ut non superaret industriam. Nam etiam Gothos post civile bellum varie profligavit pace his ad postremum data, ingentemque apud barbaras gentes memoriae gratiam conlocavit. Civilibus artibus et studiis liberalibus deditus, adfectator iusti amoris, quem ab omnibus sibi et liberalitate et docilitate quaesivit, sicut in nonnullos amicos dubius, ita in reliquos egregius, nihil occasionum praetermittens, quo opulentiores eos clarioresque praestaret.

Multas leges rogavit, quasdam ex bono et aequo, plerasque superfluas, nonnullas severas, primusque urbem nominis sui ad tantum fastigium evehere molitus est, ut Romae aemulam faceret. Bellum adversus Parthos moliens, qui iam Mesopotamiam fatigabant, uno et tricesimo anno imperii, aetatis sexto et sexagesimo, Nicomediae in villa publica obiit. Denuntiata mors eius est etiam per crinitam stellam, quae inusitatae magnitudinis aliquamdiu fulsit; eam Graeci cometen vocant. Atque inter Divos meruit referri

Is successores filios tres reliquit atque unum fratris filium. Verum Dalmatius Caesar prosperrima indole neque patruo absimilis haud multo post oppressus

est factione militari et Constantio, patrueli suo, sinente potius quam iubente. Constantinum porro bellum fratri inferentem et apud Aquileiam inconsultius proelium adgressum Constantis duces interemerunt. Ita res publica ad duos Augustos redacta. Constantis imperium strenuum aliquamdiu et iustum fuit. Mox cum et valetudine inprospera et amicis pravioribus uteretur, ad gravia vitia conversus, cum intolerabilis provincialibus, militi iniucundus esset, factione Magnentii occisus est. Obiit haud longe ab Hispaniis in castro, cui Helenae nomen est, anno imperii septimo decimo, aetatis tricesimo, rebus tamen plurimis strenue in militia gestis exercituique per omne vitae tempus sine gravi crudelitate terribilis.

10

Diversa Constantii fortuna fuit. A Persis enim multa et gravia perpressus saepe captis oppidis, obsessis urbibus, caesis exercitibus, nullumque ei contra Saporem prosperum proelium fuit, nisi quod apud Singara haud dubiam victoriam ferocia militum amisit, qui pugnam seditiose et stolide contra rationem belli die iam praecipiti poposcerunt. Post Constantis necem Magnentio Italiam, Africam, Gallias obtinente etiam Illyricum res novas habuit, Vetranione ad imperium consensu militum electo. Quem grandaevum iam et cunctis amabilem diuturnitate et felicitate militiae ad tuendum Illyricum principem creaverunt, virum probum et morum veterum ac iucundae civilitatis, sed omnium liberalium artium expertem adeo, ut ne elementa quidem prima litterarum nisi grandaevus et iam imperator acceperit.

11

Sed a Constantio, qui ad ultionem fraternae necis bellum civile commoverat, abrogatum est Vetranioni imperium; novo inusitatoque more consensu militum deponere insigne compulsus. Romae quoque tumultus fuit Nepotiano, Constantini sororis filio, per gladiatoriam manum imperium vindicante, qui saevis exordiis dignum exitum nactus est. Vicesimo enim atque octavo die a Magnentianis ducibus oppressus poenas dedit. Caput eius pilo per urbem circumlatum est, gravissimaeque proscriptiones et nobilium caedes fuerunt.

12

Non multo post Magnentius apud Mursam profligatus acie est ac paene captus. Ingentes Romani imperii vires ea dimicatione consumptae sunt, ad quaelibet bella externa idoneae, quae multum triumphorum possent securitatisque conferre. Orienti mox a Constantio Caesar est datus patruus filius Gallus, Magnentiusque diversis proeliis victus vim vitae suae apud Lugdunum attulit imperii anno tertio, mense septimo, frater quoque eius Decentius Senonibus, quem ad tuendas Gallias Caesarem miserat.

13

Per haec tempora etiam a Constantio multis incivilibus gestis Gallus Caesar occisus est, vim natura ferus et ad tyrannidem prior, si suo iure imperare licuisset. Silvanus quoque in Gallia res novas molitus ante diem tricesimum extinctus est, solusque imperio Romano eo tempore Constantius princeps et Augustus fuit.

14

Mox Iulianum Caesarem ad Gallias misit, patruum suum, Galli fratrem, tradita ei in matrimonium sorore, cum multa oppida barbari expugnassent, alia obsiderent, ubique foeda vastitas esset Romanumque imperium non dubia iam calamitate nutaret. A quo modicis copiis apud Argentoratum, Galliae urbem, ingentes Alamannorum copiae extinctae sunt, rex nobilissimus captus, Galliae restituae. Multa postea per eundem Iulianum egregia adversum barbaros gesta sunt summotique ultra Rhenum Germani et finibus suis Romanum imperium restitutum.

15

Neque multo post, cum Germaniciani exercitus a Galliarum praesidio tollerentur, consensu militum Iulianus factus Augustus est, interiectoque anno ad Illyricum obtinendum profectus Constantio Parthicis proeliis occupato. Qui rebus cognitis ad bellum civile conversus in itinere obiit inter Ciliciam Cappadociamque anno imperii octavo et tricesimo, aetatis quinto et quadragesimo, meruitque inter Divos referri, vir egregiae tranquillitatis, placidus, nimium amicis et familiaribus credens, mox etiam uxoribus deditior, qui tamen primis imperii annis ingenti se modestia egerit, familiarium etiam

locupletator neque inhonoros sinens, quorum laboriosa expertus fuisset officia, ad severitatem tum propensior, si suspicio imperii moveretur, mitis alias, et cuius in civilibus magis quam in externis bellis sit laudanda fortuna.

16

Hinc Iulianus rerum potitus est ingentique apparatu Parthis intulit bellum, cui expeditioni ego quoque interfui. Aliquot oppida et castella Persarum in deditionem accepit vel vi expugnavit Assyriamque populatus castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquamdiu habuit. Remeansque victor, dum se inconsultius proeliis inserit, hostili manu interfectus est VI Kal. Iul., imperii anno septimo, aetatis altero et tricesimo, atque inter Divos relatus est, vir egregius et rem publicam insigniter moderaturus, si per fata licuisset. Liberalibus disciplinis adprime eruditus, Graecis doctior atque adeo, ut Latina eruditio nequaquam cum Graeca scientia conveniret, facundia ingenti et prompta, memoriae tenacissimae, in quibusdam philosopho propior. In amicos liberalis, sed minus diligens quam tantum principem decuit. Fuerunt enim nonnulli, qui vulnera gloriae eius inferrent. In provinciales iustissimus et tributorum, quatenus fieri posset, repressor. Civilis in cunctos, mediocrem habens aerarii curam, gloriae avidus ac per eam animi plerumque inmodici, religionis Christianae nimius insectator, perinde tamen, ut cruore abstineret, M. Antonino non absimilis, quem etiam aemulari studebat.

17

Post hunc Iovianus, qui tunc domesticus militabat, ad obtinendum imperium consensu exercitus lectus est, commendatione patris militibus quam sua notior. Qui iam turbatis rebus exercitu quoque inopia laborante uno a Persis atque altero proelio victus pacem cum Sapore, necessariam quidem, sed ignobilem, fecit, multatus finibus ac nonnulla imperii Romani parte tradita. Quod ante eum annis mille centum et duobus de viginti fere, ex quo Romanum imperium conditum erat, numquam accidit. Quin etiam legiones nostrae ita et apud Caudium per Pontium Telesinum et in Hispania apud Numantiam et in Numidia sub iugum missae sunt, ut nihil tamen finium traderetur. Ea pacis conditio non penitus reprehendenda foret, si foederis necessitatem tum cum integrum fuit mutare voluisset, sicut a Romanis omnibus his bellis, quae commemoravi, factum est. Nam et Samnitibus et

Numantinis et Numidis confestim bella inflata sunt neque pax rata fuit. Sed dum aemulum imperii veretur, intra Orientem residens gloriae parum consuluit. Itaque iter ingressus atque Illyricum petens in Galatiae finibus repentina morte obiit, vir alias neque iners neque imprudens.

Multi exanimatum opinantur nimia cruditate (inter cenandum enim epulis indulserat), alii odore cubiculi, quod ex recenti tectorio calcis grave quiescentibus erat, quidam nimietate prunarum, quas gravi frigore adoleri multas iusserat. Decessit imperii mense septimo, tertio decimo Kal. Mart., aetatis, ut qui plurimum vel minimum tradunt, tertio et tricesimo anno, ac benignitate principum, qui ei successerunt, inter Divos relatus est. Nam et civilitati propior et natura admodum liberalis fuit. Is status erat Romanae rei Ioviano eodem et Varroniano consulibus anno urbis conditae millesimo centesimo et octavo decimo. Quia autem ad inclitos principes venerandosque perventum est, interim operi modum dabimus. Nam reliqua stilo maiore dicenda sunt. Quae nunc non tam praetermittimus, quam ad maiorem scribendi diligentiam reservamus.

The Dual Text



Roman Illyricum following the Illyrian wars — Eutropius is believed to have served as praetorian prefect for Illyria.

Dual Latin and English Text



Translated by John Selby Watson

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, alternating between the original Latin and Watson's 1886 English translation.

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PRAEFATIO

DOMINO VALENTI GOTHICO MAXIMO PERPETUO AUGUSTO
EUTROPIUS V. C. MAGISTER MEMORIAE.

Res Romanas ex voluntate mansuetudinis tuae ab urbe condita ad nostram memoriam, quae in negotiis vel bellicis vel civilibus eminebant, per ordinem temporum brevi narratione collegi, strictim additis etiam his, quae in principum vita egregia extiterunt, ut tranquillitatis tuae possit mens divina laetari prius se inlustrium virorum facta in administrando imperio secutam, quam cognosceret lectione.

DEDICATION

To the Emperor Valens, Maximus Perpetuus, Augustus.

According to the pleasure of your Clemency, I have arranged in a brief narrative, in the order of time, such particulars in the history of Rome as seemed most worthy of notice, in transactions either of war or peace, from the foundation of the city to our own days; adding concisely, also, such matters as were remarkable in the lives of the emperors; that your Serenity's divine mind may rejoice to learn that it has followed the actions of illustrious men in governing the empire, before it became acquainted with them by reading.

BOOK I

Origin of Rome, I. — Characters and acts of the seven kings of Rome, II. — VIII. — Appointment of consuls on the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, IX. — War raised by Tarquin; he is supported by Porsena, X. XI. — First dictator, XII. — Sedition of the people, and origin of the tribunitial power, XIII. — A victory over the Volsci, XIV. — Coriolanus, being banished, makes war on his country with the aid of the Volsci; is softened by the entreaties of his wife and mother. XV. — War of the Fabii with the Veientes; the census, XVI. — Dictatorship of Cincinnatus, XVII. The Decemviri, XVIII. — War with the Fidenates, Vejeutes, and Volsci, XIX. — Destruction of Rome by the Gauls, XX.

I

Romanum imperium, quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus neque incrementis toto orbe amplius humana potest memoria recordari, a Romulo exordium habet, qui Reae Silviae, Vestalis virginis, filius et, quantum putatus est, Martis cum Remo fratre uno partu editus est. Is cum inter pastores latrocinaretur, decem et octo annos natus urbem exiguam in Palatino monte constituit XI Kal. Maias, Olympiadis sextae anno tertio, post Troiae excidium, ut qui plurimum minimumque tradunt, anno trecentesimo nonagesimo quarto.

I

The Roman empire, than which the memory of man can recall scarcely any one smaller in its commencement, or greater in its progress throughout the world, had its origin from Romulus; who, being the son of a vestal virgin, and, as was supposed, of Mars, was brought forth at one birth with his brother Remus. While leading a predatory life among the shepherds, he founded, when he was eighteen years of age, a small city on the Palatine Hill, on the 21st day of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, and the three hundred and ninety-fourth after the destruction of Troy.

2

Condita civitate, quam ex nomine suo Romam vocavit, haec fere egit. Multitudinem finitimorum in civitatem recepit, centum ex senioribus legit, quorum consilio omnia ageret, quos senatores nominavit propter senectutem. Tum, cum uxores ipse et populus suus non haberent, invitavit ad spectaculum ludorum vicinas urbi Romae nationes atque earum virgines rapuit. Commotis bellis propter raptarum iniuriam Caeninenses vicit, Antemnates, Crustumino-

Sabinos, Fidenates, Veientes. Haec omnia oppida urbem cingunt. Et cum orta subito tempestate non comparuisset, anno regni tricesimo septimo ad deos transisse creditus est et consecratus. Deinde Romae per quinos dies senatores imperaverunt et his regnantibus annus unus completus est.

II

After founding the city, which he called Rome, from his own name, he proceeded principally as follows. He took a great number of the neighbouring inhabitants into the city; he chose a hundred of the older men, by whose advice he might manage all his affairs, and whom, from their age, he named senators. Next, as both himself and his people were in want of wives, he invited the tribes contiguous to the city to an exhibition of games, and seized upon their young women. Wars having arisen in consequence of this outrage in capturing the females, he conquered the Caeninenses, the Antemnates, the Crustumini, the Sabines, the Fidenates, and the Veientes; all whose towns lay around the city. And since, after a tempest that suddenly arose, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, he was no longer to be seen, he was believed to have been translated to the gods, and was accordingly deified. The senators then ruled at Rome by periods of five days; and under their government a year was passed.

3

Postea Numa Pompilius rex creatus est, qui bellum quidem nullum gessit, sed non minus civitati quam Romulus profuit. Nam et leges Romanis moresque constituit, qui consuetudine proeliorum iam latrones ac semibarbari putabantur, et annum descripsit in decem menses prius sine aliqua supputatione confusum, et infinita Romae sacra ac templa constituit. Morbo decessit quadragesimo et tertio imperii anno.

III

Afterwards Numa Pompilius was elected king, who engaged indeed in no wars, but was of no less service to the state than Romulus; for he established both laws and customs among the Romans, who, by the frequency of their wars, were now regarded as robbers and semi-barbarians. He divided the year, before unregulated by any computation, into ten months, and founded

numerous sacred rites and temples at Rome. He died a natural death in the forty-third year of his reign.

4

Huic successit Tullus Hostilius. Hic bella reparavit, Albanos vicit, qui ab urbe Roma duodecimo miliario sunt, Veientes et Fidenates, quorum alii sexto miliario absunt ab urbe Roma, alii octavo decimo, bello superavit, urbem ampliavit, adiecto Caelio monte. Cum triginta et duos annos regnasset, fulmine ictus cum domo sua arsit.

IV

To him succeeded Tullus Hostilius, who re-commenced war. He conquered the Albans, who lay twelve miles distant from Rome. He overcame also in battle the Veientes and Fidenates, the one six, the other eighteen miles from Rome: and increased the dimensions of the city by the addition of the Coelian Hill. After reigning thirty-two years, he was struck by lightning, and consumed together with his house.

5

Post hunc Ancus Marcius, Numae ex filia nepos, suscepit imperium. Contra Latinos dimicavit, Aventinum montem civitati adiecit et Janiculum, apud ostium Tiberis civitatem supra mare sexto decimo miliario ab urbe Roma condidit. Vicesimo et quarto anno imperii morbo periit.

V

After him, Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa by a daughter, succeeded to the government. He fought against the Latins, added the Aventine and Janiculan hills to the city, and founded Ostia, a city on the sea-coast, sixteen miles from Rome. He died a natural death in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

6

Deinde regnum Priscus Tarquinius accepit. Hic numerum senatorum duplicavit, circum Romae aedificavit, ludos Romanos instituit, qui ad nostram memoriam permanent. Vicit idem etiam Sabinos et non parum agrorum

sublatum isdem urbis Romae territorio iunxit, primusque triumphans urbem intravit. Muros fecit et cloacas, Capitolium inchoavit. Tricesimo octavo imperii anno per Anci filios occisus est, regis eius, cui ipse successerat.

VI

Priscus Tarquinius was next invested with the government. He doubled the number of the senators, built a Circus at Rome, and instituted the Roman games which continue even to our time. He also conquered the Sabines, and added a considerable extent of territory, which he took from that people, to the lands of Rome; he was also the first that entered the city in triumph. He built the walls and sewers, and commenced the Capitol. He was killed in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, by the sons of Ancus, the king whom he had succeeded.

7

Post hunc Servius Tullius suscepit imperium, genitus ex nobili femina, captiva tamen et ancilla. Hic quoque Sabinos subegit, montes tres, Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinum, urbi adiunxit, fossas circum murum duxit. Primus omnium censum ordinavit, qui adhuc per orbem terrarum incognitus erat. Sub eo Roma omnibus in censum delatis habuit capita LXXXIII milia civium Romanorum cum his, qui in agris erant. Occisus est scelere generi sui Tarquinii Superbi, filii eius regis, cui ipse successerat, et filiae, quam Tarquinius habebat uxorem.

VII

After him Servius Tullius was placed on the throne, the son of a woman of noble origin, but who was, nevertheless, a captive and a slave. He also defeated the Sabines; annexed three hills, the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline, to the city; and formed trenches round the city walls. He was the first to institute the census, which till that time was unknown throughout the world. The people being all subjected to a census during his reign, Rome was found to contain eighty-four thousand citizens, including those in the country. He was cut off in the forty-fifth year of his reign, by the criminal machinations of his son-in-law Tarquin the Proud, the son of the king to whom he had succeeded, and of his own daughter, whom Tarquin had married.

L. Tarquinius Superbus, septimus atque ultimus regum, Volscos, quae gens ad Campaniam euntibus non longe ab urbe est, vicit, Gabios civitatem et Suessam Pometiam subegit, cum Tuscis pacem fecit et templum Jovis in Capitolio aedificavit. Postea Ardeam oppugnans, in octavo decimo miliario ab urbe Roma positam civitatem, imperium perdidit. Nam cum filius eius, et ipse Tarquinius iunior, nobilissimam feminam Lucretiam eandemque pudicissimam, Collatini uxorem, stuprasset eaque de iniuria marito et patri et amicis quæsta fuisset, in omnium conspectu se occidit. Propter quam causam Brutus, parens et ipse Tarquinii, populum concitavit et Tarquinio ademit imperium. Mox exercitus quoque eum, qui civitatem Ardeam cum ipso rege oppugnabat, reliquit; veniensque ad urbem rex portis clausis exclusus est, cumque imperasset annos quattuor et viginti cum uxore et liberis suis fugit. Ita Romae regnatum est per septem reges annis ducentis quadraginta tribus, cum adhuc Roma, ubi plurimum, vix usque ad quintum decimum miliarium possideret.

VIII

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last of the kings, overcame the Volsci, a nation not far from Rome, on the road to Campania; reduced the towns of Gabii and Suessa Pometia; made peace with the Tuscans; and built a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol. Afterwards, while he was besieging Ardea, a town that lay about eighteen miles from the city, he was deprived of his throne; for, as his younger son, who was also named Tarquin, offered violence to Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, a most noble and chaste woman; and as she, after complaining to her husband, her father, and her friends, of the injury that she had suffered, slew herself in the sight of them all; Brutus, in consequence, who was a kinsman of Tarquinius, excited an insurrection among the people, and deprived Tarquin of his regal authority. The army, also, which was engaged with the king in besieging Ardea, soon after deserted him; and the king himself, on going to the city, found the gates closed against him; and, after having reigned five-and-twenty years, was forced to take flight with his wife and children.

Thus a regal form of government continued at Rome, under seven kings, for

the space of two hundred and forty-three years, while as yet the dominion of the city, where its extent was greatest, hardly reached fifteen miles.

Hinc consules coepere, pro uno rege duo, hac causa creati, ut, si unus malus esse voluisset, alter eum, habens potestatem similem, coerceret. Et placuit, ne imperium longius quam annum haberent, ne per diuturnitatem potestatis insolentiores redderentur, sed civiles semper essent, qui se post annum scirent futuros esse privatos. Fuerunt igitur anno primo ab expulsis regibus consules L. Iunius Brutus, qui maxime egerat, ut Tarquinius pelleretur, et Tarquinius Collatinus, maritus Lucretiae. Sed Tarquinio Collatino statim sublata est dignitas. Placuerat enim, ne quisquam in urbe remaneret, qui Tarquinius vocaretur. Ergo accepto omni patrimonio suo ex urbe migravit, et loco ipsius factus est L. Valerius Publicola consul. Commovit tamen bellum urbi Romae rex Tarquinius, qui fuerat expulsus, et collectis multis gentibus, ut in regnum posset restitui, dimicavit.

IX

Henceforth, instead of one king, two consuls were chosen, with this view, that, if one should be disposed to act unjustly, the other, having equal authority, might exercise a control over him. It was determined also that they should not hold their office longer than a year; in order that they might not, by continued possession of power, grow too overbearing; but, knowing that in a year they would return to the level of private persons, might constantly conduct themselves with moderation.

In the first year, then, after the expulsion of the king and his family, the consuls were Lucius Junius Brutus, who had been the chief agent in the banishment of Tarquin, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia. But that dignity was soon taken from Tarquinius Collatinus; for it was enacted that no one who bore the name of Tarquin should remain in the city. Having collected, therefore, all his private property, he removed from the city, and Valerius Publicola was made consul in his stead. King Tarquin, however, after his expulsion, stirred up war against Rome, and, having collected a large force from all quarters, in order that he might be reinstated on the throne, took the field.

In prima pugna Brutus consul et Arruns, Tarquinii filius, in vicem se occiderunt, Romani tamen ex ea pugna victores recesserunt. Brutum matronae Romanae, defensorem pudicitiae suae, quasi communem patrem per annum luxerunt. Valerius Publicola Sp. Lucretium Tricipitinum collegam sibi fecit, Lucretiae patrem, quo morbo mortuo iterum Horatium Pulvillum collegam sibi sumpsit. Ita primus annus quinque consules habuit, cum Tarquinius Collatinus propter nomen urbe cessisset, Brutus in proelio perisset, Sp. Lucretius morbo mortuus esset.

X

In the first encounter, Brutus and Aruns, Tarquin's son, killed each other; but the Romans left the field conquerors. The Roman matrons mourned for Brutus, the guardian of their honour, as if he had been their common father, for the space of a year. Valerius Publicola fixed upon Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, the father of Lucretia, for his colleague; and he dying of some disease, he next chose Horatius Pulvillus for his fellow consul.

Thus the first year had five consuls; Tarquinius Collatinus having left the city on account of his name, Brutus having fallen in battle, and Spurius Lucretius having died a natural death.

11

Secundo quoque anno iterum Tarquinius ut reciperetur in regnum bellum Romanis intulit, auxilium ei ferente Porsenna, Tusciae rege, et Romam paene cepit. Verum tum quoque victus est. Tertio anno post reges exactos Tarquinius, cum suscipi non posset in regnum neque ei Porsenna, qui pacem cum Romanis fecerat, praestaret auxilium, Tusculum se contulit, quae civitas non longe ab urbe est, atque ibi per quattuordecim annos privatus cum uxore consenuit. Quarto anno post reges exactos, cum Sabini Romanis bellum intulissent, victi sunt et de his triumphatum est. Quinto anno L. Valerius ille, Bruti collega et quater consul, fataliter mortuus est, adeo pauper, ut, collatis a populo nummis, sumptum habuerit sepulturae. Quem matronae sicuti Brutum annum luxerunt.

XI

In the second year also, Tarquin, with a view to being re-established on the throne, again made war on the Romans, and, as Porsena, king of Tuscany, afforded him aid, almost took Rome. But he was also defeated on that occasion.

In the third year after the expulsion of the royal family, Tarquin, as he could not get himself re-admitted into the kingdom, and as Porsena, who had made peace with the Romans, gave him no support, retired to Tusculum, a town which is not far from Rome; where he and his wife lived for fourteen years in a private station, and reached an advanced age.

In the fourth year after the abolition of the kingly power, the Sabines, having made war on the Romans, were conquered; and a triumph was celebrated over them.

In the fifth year, Lucius Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, and consul for the fourth time, died a natural death, and in such extreme poverty, that the expenses of his funeral were defrayed by a public subscription. The matrons mourned for him, as for Brutus, during a year.

12

Nono anno post reges exactos, cum gener Tarquini ad iniuriam soceri vindicandam ingentem collegisset exercitum, nova Romae dignitas est creata, quae dictatura appellatur, maior quam consulatus. Eodem anno etiam magister equitum factus est, qui dictatori obsequeretur. Neque quicquam similis potest dici quam dictatura antiqua huic imperii potestati, quam nunc tranquillitas vestra habet, maxime cum Augustus quoque Octavianus, de quo postea dicemus, et ante eum C. Caesar sub dictaturae nomine atque honore regnaverint. Dictator autem Romae primus fuit T. Larcus, magister equitum primus Sp. Cassius.

XII

In the ninth year after the overthrow of the kingly power, the son-in-law of Tarquin, having assembled a vast army, in order to avenge the wrongs of his father-in-law, a new office was introduced at Rome, which was called the dictatorship, and which was more absolute than the consulate. In the same year also a master of the horse was appointed to be an officer under the

dictator. Nor can anything be named more like to the imperial authority, which your Serenity now enjoys, than the ancient dictatorship, especially since Caesar Octavianus, also, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and Caius Caesar before him, ruled with the title and rank of dictator. The first dictator at Rome was Lartius; the first master of the horse, Spurius Cassius.

13

Sexto decimo anno post reges exactos seditionem populus Romae fecit, tamquam a senatu atque consulibus premeretur. Tum et ipse sibi tribunos plebis quasi proprios iudices et defensores creavit, per quos contra senatum et consules tutus esse posset.

XIII

In the sixteenth year after the termination of the regal power, the people at Rome, thinking themselves oppressed by the senate and consuls, broke out into a sedition. On this occasion they created for themselves tribunes of the people, as their own peculiar judges and defenders, by whom they might be protected against the senate and the consuls.

14

Sequenti anno Volsci contra Romanos bellum reparaverunt, et victi acie etiam Coriolos civitatem, quam habebant optimam, perdiderunt.

XIV

In the following year the Volsci recommenced hostilities against the Romans; and being overcome in the field, lost also Corioli, the best city that they had.

15

Octavo decimo anno postquam reges eiecti erant expulsus ex urbe Q. Marcius, dux Romanus, qui Coriolos ceperat, Volscorum civitatem, ad ipsos Volscos contendit iratus et auxilia contra Romanos accepit. Romanos saepe vicit, usque ad quintum miliarium urbis accessit, oppugnaturus etiam patriam suam, legatis qui pacem petebant, repudiatis, nisi ad eum mater Veturia et uxor Volumnia ex urbe venissent, quarum fletu et deprecatione superatus removit exercitum. Atque hic secundus post Tarquinius fuit, qui dux contra patriam

XV

In the eighteenth year after the banishment of the royal family, Quintius Marcius, the Roman general who had taken Corioli, the city of the Volsci, being compelled to flee from Rome, directed his course, in resentment, to the Volsci themselves, and received from them support against the Romans. He obtained several victories over the Romans; he made his way even to the fifth mile-stone from the city; and, refusing to hear a deputation that came to sue for peace, would have laid siege even to the place of his birth, had not his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia gone out from the city to meet him, by whose tears and supplications he was prevailed on to withdraw his army. He was the next after Tarquin that acted as general against his country.

16

C. Fabio et L. Virginio consulibus trecenti nobiles homines, qui ex Fabia familia erant, contra Veientes bellum soli susceperunt, promittentes senatui et populo per se omne certamen implendum. Itaque profecti, omnes nobiles et qui singuli magnorum exercituum duces esse deberent, in proelio conciderunt. Unus omnino superfuit ex tanta familia, qui propter aetatem puerilem duci non potuerat ad pugnam. Post haec census in urbe habitus est et inventa sunt civium capita CXVII milia CCCXIX.

XVI

In the consulate of Caeso Fabius and Titus Virginus, three hundred noblemen, members of the Fabian family, undertook alone a war against the Veientes, assuring the senate and the people that the whole contest should be brought to an end by themselves. These illustrious men, therefore, each of whom was capable of commanding a large army, setting out on their expedition, all fell in battle. One only remained out of so numerous a family, who, from his extreme youth, could not be taken with them to the field. After these events a census was held in the city, in which the number of the citizens was found to be a hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and nineteen.

Sequenti anno cum in Algido monte ab urbe duodecimo ferme miliario Romanus obsideretur exercitus, L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator est factus, qui agrum quattuor iugerum possidens manibus suis colebat. Is cum in opere et arans esset inventus, sudore deterso togam praetextam accepit et caesis hostibus liberavit exercitum.

XVII

In the following year, in consequence of the blockade of a Roman army on Mount Algidus, about twelve miles from the city, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus was appointed dictator; a man who, possessing only four acres of land, cultivated it with his own hands. He, being found at his work, and engaged in ploughing, assumed, after wiping the sweat from his brow, the toga praetexta; and set free the army with great slaughter among the enemy.

18

Anno trecentesimo et altero ab urbe condita imperium consulare cessavit et pro duobus consulibus decem facti sunt, qui summam potestatem haberent, decemviri nominati. Sed cum primo anno bene egissent, secundo unus ex his, Ap. Claudius, Virginii cuiusdam, qui honestis iam stipendiis contra Latinos in monte Algido militarat, filiam virginem corrumpere voluit; quam pater occidit, ne stuprum a decemviro sustineret, et regressus ad milites movit tumultum. Sublata est decemviris potestas ipsique damnati sunt.

XVIII

In the three hundred and second year from the founding of the city, the consular government ceased; and, instead of two consuls, ten magistrates were appointed to hold the supreme authority, under the title of decemviri. These during the first year conducted themselves with honour; but in the second, one of them, Appius Claudius, proceeded to offer violence to the maiden daughter of a certain Virginius, who was at that time filling an honourable post on military service against the Latins on Mount Algidus; but the father slew her with his own hand, that she might not suffer violation from the decemvir, and, returning to the army, raised an insurrection among the soldiers. Their power was in consequence taken from the decemviri, and they themselves received sentences of condemnation.

Anno trecentesimo et quinto decimo ab urbe condita Fidenates contra Romanos rebellaverunt. Auxilium his praestabant Veientes et rex Veientium Tolumnius. Quae ambae civitates tam vicinae urbi sunt, ut Fidenae sexto, Veii octavo decimo miliario absint. Coniunxerunt se his et Volsci. Sed Mam. Aemilio dictatore et L. Quintio Cincinnato magistro equitum victi etiam regem perdiderunt. Fidenae captae et excisae.

XIX

In the three hundred and fifteenth year from the founding of the city, the Fidenates rebelled against the Romans. The Veientes and their king Tolumnius gave them assistance. These two states are so near to Rome, that Fidenae is only seven, Veii only eighteen miles distant. The Volsci also joined them; but they were defeated by Marcus Aemilius the dictator, and Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus the master of the horse, and lost also their king. Fidenae was taken, and utterly destroyed.

20

Post viginti deinde annos Veientani rebellaverunt. Dictator contra ipsos missus est Furius Camillus, qui primum eos vicit acie, mox etiam civitatem diu obsidens cepit, antiquissimam Italiaeque ditissimam. Post eam cepit et Faliscos, non minus nobilem civitatem. Sed commota est ei invidia, quasi praedam male divisisset, damnatusque ob eam causam et expulsus civitate. Statim Galli Senones ad urbem venerunt et victos Romanos undecimo miliario a Roma apud flumen Alliam secuti etiam urbem occupaverunt. Neque defendi quicquam nisi Capitolium potuit; quod cum diu obsedissent et iam Romani fame laborarent, accepto auro ne Capitolium obsiderent, recesserunt. Sed a Camillo, qui in vicina civitate exulabat, Gallis superventum est gravissimeque victi sunt. Postea tamen etiam secutus eos Camillus ita cecidit, ut et aurum, quod his datum fuerat, et omnia, quae ceperant, militaria signa revocaret. Ita tertio triumphans urbem ingressus est et appellatus secundus Romulus, quasi et ipse patriae conditor.

XX

Twenty years afterwards, the people of Veii resumed hostilities. Furius Camillus was sent as dictator against them, who first defeated them in battle, and then, after a long siege, took their city, the oldest and richest in Italy. He next took Falisci, a city of no less note. But popular odium was excited against him, on the ground that he had made an unfair division of the booty, and he was condemned on that charge and banished.

Soon after the Galli Senones marched towards Rome; and, pursuing the Romans, whom they defeated at the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, possessed themselves of the city itself, no part of which could be defended against them, except the Capitol. After they had besieged it a long time, and the Romans were suffering from famine, Camillus, who was in exile in a neighbouring city, attacked the Gauls unexpectedly, and gave them a severe defeat. Afterwards, on receiving a sum of gold, to desist from the siege of the Capitol, they retreated; Camillus, however, pursued them, and routed them with such a slaughter, that he recovered both the gold which had been given to them, and all the military standards which they had taken. Thus he entered the city for the third time in triumph, and received the appellation of a second Romulus, as if he also had been a founder of the city.

BOOK II

Military tribunes created instead of consuls; Camillus overcomes the Volsci, Aequi, and Sutrini, Cincinnatus the Praenestini, I, II — Consular government restored, III. — Death and eulogy of Camillus, IV. — Flight of the Gauls, V — The census, VI. — Combat of Valerius Corvus with a Gaul, VII. — The Latin war, VIII. — Various defeats of the Samnites, IX. — The Gauls, Etrurians, and Samnites defeated, X. — The war with Pyrrhus, XI.-XIV. — Ptolemy, king of Egypt, sends ambassadors to Rome, XV. — The Picenians and SallentinThe original frontispiece, XVI. XVII. — Another census: the first Punic war, XVIII. — XXVIII.

I

Anno trecentesimo sexagesimo quinto ab urbe condita, post captam autem primo, dignitates mutatae sunt, et pro duobus consulibus facti tribuni militares consulari potestate. Hinc iam coepit Romana res crescere. Nam Camillus eo anno Volscorum civitatem, quae per septuaginta annos bellum gesserat, vicit et Aequorum urbem et Sutrinorum atque omnibus deletis earundem exercitibus occupavit et tres simul triumphos egit.

I

In the three hundred and sixty-fifth year after the foundation of the city, and the first after its capture by the Gauls, the form of government was changed; and, instead of two consuls, military tribunes, invested with consular power, were created. From this time the power of Rome began to increase; for that very year Camillus reduced the state of the Volsci, which had persisted to make war for seventy years; also the cities of the Aequi and Sutrini; and, overthrowing their armies, took possession of them all; and thus enjoyed three triumphs at the same time.

2

T. etiam Quintius Cincinnatus Praenestinos, qui usque ad urbis Romae portas cum bello venerant, persecutus ad flumen Alliam vicit, octo civitates, quae sub ipsis agebant, Romanis adiunxit, ipsum Praeneste adgressus in deditionem accepit. Quae omnia ab eo gesta sunt viginti diebus, triumphusque ipsi decretus.

II

Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, also, having pursued the Praenestini, who had

advanced in a hostile manner to the very gates of Rome, defeated them on the river Allia, annexing eight cities that were under their dominion to the Roman empire; and, attacking Praeneste itself, forced it to surrender; all which acts were accomplished by him in the space of twenty days; and a triumph was decreed him.

3

Verum dignitas tribunorum militarium non diu perseveravit. Nam post aliquantum nullos placuit fieri et quadriennium in urbe ita fluxit, ut potestates ibi maiores non essent. Praesumpserunt tamen tribuni militares consulari potestate iterum dignitatem et triennio perseveraverunt. Rursus consules facti.

III

But the office of military tribunes did not last long; for, after a short time, it was enacted that no more should be created; and four years passed in the state in such a manner that none of the superior magistrates were appointed. The military tribunes, however, were re-instated in their office with consular authority, and continued for three years, when consuls were again elected.

4

L. Genucio et Q. Servilio consulibus mortuus est Camillus. Honor ei post Romulum secundus delatus est.

IV

In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, Camillus died, and honour next to that of Romulus was paid him.

5

T. Quintius dictator adversus Gallos, qui ad Italiam venerant, missus est. Hi ab urbe quarto miliario trans Anienem fluvium consederant. Ibi nobilissimus de senatoribus iuvenis L. Manlius provocantem Gallum ad singulare certamen progressus occidit, et sublato torque aureo colloque suo inposito in perpetuum Torquati et sibi et posteris cognomen accepit. Galli fugati sunt, mox per C. Sulpicium dictatorem etiam victi. Non multo post a C. Marcio Tusci victi sunt et octo milia captivorum ex his in triumphum ducta.

Titus Quintius was sent out as dictator against the Gauls, who had marched into Italy; and had encamped about four miles from the city, on the other side of the river Anio, Titus Manlius, one of the noblest of the senators, encountering a Gaul who had challenged him to single combat, slew him; and, having taken from his neck a chain of gold, and put it on his own, secured the appellation of Torquatus to himself and his posterity for ever. The Gauls were repulsed, and soon afterwards entirely defeated by Caius Sulpicius the dictator. Shortly after, the Tuscans were defeated by Caius Marcius, and eight thousand of them were taken prisoners and led in triumph.

Census iterum habitus est. Et cum Latini, qui a Romanis subacti erant, milites praestare nollent, ex Romanis tantum tirones lecti sunt, factaeque legiones decem, qui modus sexaginta vel amplius armatorum milia efficiebat. Parvis adhuc Romanis rebus tanta tamen in re militari virtus erat. Quae cum profectae essent adversum Gallos duce L. Furio, quidam ex Gallis unum ex Romanis, qui esset optimus, provocavit. Tum se M. Valerius tribunus militum obtulit, et cum processisset armatus, corvus ei supra dextrum brachium sedit. Mox commissa adversum Gallum pugna idem corvus alis et unguibus Galli oculos verberavit, ne rectum posset aspicere. Ita a tribuno Valerio interfectus. Corvus non solum victoriam ei, sed etiam nomen dedit. Nam postea idem Corvinus est dictus. Ac propter hoc meritum annorum trium et viginti consul est factus.

A census was again taken; and as the Latins, who had been subdued by the Romans, refused to furnish troops, recruits were levied from among the Romans only, and ten legions were raised, making sixty thousand fighting men, or upwards; so great was the power of the Romans in war, while their territory was as yet but small. These troops having marched out against the Gauls, under the conduct of Lucius Furius Camillus, one of the Gauls challenged the most valiant among the Romans to single combat; when Marcus Valerius, a tribune of the soldiers, came forward to accept the

challenge; and, as he advanced in full armour, a crow settled upon his right shoulder. Afterwards, too, when he commenced the encounter with the Gaul, the same crow, with his wings and talons, furiously assailed the Gaul's eyes, so that he was not able to see before him, and thus, being slain by the tribune Valerius, he gave him not only a victory, but a name; for he was afterwards called Corvus. For the same service also, at the age of three and twenty, he was made consul.

7

Latini, qui noluerant milites dare, hoc quoque a Romanis exigere coeperunt, ut unus consul ex eorum, alter ex Romanorum populo crearetur. Quod cum esset negatum, bellum contra eos susceptum est et ingenti pugna superati sunt; ac de his perdomitis triumphatum est. Statuae consulibus ob meritum victoriae in Rostris positae sunt. Eo anno etiam Alexandria ab Alexandro Macedone condita est.

VII

The Latins, who had refused to furnish troops, proceeded also to demand of the Romans, that one of the consuls should be elected from their own people, the other from the Romans; this demand having been rejected, war was commenced against them, and they were overcome in a great battle; and a triumph was celebrated on account of their defeat. Statues were erected to the consuls in the Rostra, for their service in gaining this victory.

8

Iam Romani potentes esse coeperunt. Bellum enim in centesimo et tricesimo fere miliario ab urbe apud Samnitas gerebatur, qui medii sunt inter Picenum, Campaniam et Apuliam. L. Papirius Cursor cum honore dictatoris ad id bellum profectus est. Qui cum Romam rediret, Q. Fabio Maximo, magistro equitum, quem apud exercitum reliquit, praecepit, ne se absente pugnaret. Ille occasione reperta felicissime dimicavit et Samnitas delevit. Ob quam rem a dictatore capitis damnatus, quod se vetante pugnasset, ingenti favore militum et populi liberatus est tanta Papirio seditione commota, ut paene ipse interficeretur.

VIII

The Romans had now begun to be powerful; for a war was carried on by them against the Samnites, who hold a middle situation between Picenum, Campania, and Apulia, at the distance of nearly a hundred and thirty miles from the city. Lucius Papirius Cursor went to conduct that war with the rank of dictator, and, on returning to Rome, gave orders to Quintus Fabius Maximus, his master of the horse, whom he left in charge of the army, not to fight during his absence. He, however, seeing a favourable opportunity, commenced an engagement with great success, and utterly defeated the Samnites; he was accordingly condemned to death by the dictator, for fighting contrary to his orders, but was saved by the powerful interposition of the soldiers and people, so great a tumult having been excited against Papirius, that he was almost slain.

9

Postea Samnites Romanos T. Veturio et Sp. Postumio consulibus ingenti dedecore vicerunt et sub iugum miserunt. Pax tamen a senatu et populo soluta est, quae cum ipsis propter necessitatem facta fuerat. Postea Samnites victi sunt a L. Papirio consule, septem milia eorum sub iugum missa. Papirius primus de Samnitibus triumphavit. Eo tempore Ap. Claudius censor aquam Claudiam induxit et viam Appiam stravit. Samnites reparato bello Q. Fabium Maximum vicerunt tribus milibus hominum occisis. Postea, cum pater ei Fabius Maximus legatus datus fuisset, et Samnitas vicit et plurima ipsorum oppida cepit. Deinde P. Cornelius Rufinus M. Curius Dentatus, ambo consules, contra Samnitas missi ingentibus proeliis eos confecere. Tum bellum cum Samnitibus per annos quadraginta novem actum sustulerunt. Neque ullus hostis fuit intra Italiam, qui Romanam virtutem magis fatigaverit.

IX

The Samnites subsequently, in the consulate of Titus Veturius and Spurius Posthumius, defeated the Romans with signal ignominy, and compelled them to pass under the yoke. The peace, however, which had been concluded with them through mere necessity, was broken by the senate and people. After this the Samnites were defeated by Lucius Papirius the consul, and seven thousand of them made to pass under the yoke. Papirius was granted a triumph over the Samnites. About the same time Appius Claudius the censor brought the

Claudian water into the city, and made the Appian way.

The Samnites, renewing the war, defeated Quintus Fabius Maximus, with the slaughter of three thousand of his troops; but afterwards, his father, Fabius Maximus, being appointed his lieutenant, he both defeated the Samnites, and took several of their towns. Subsequently, Publius Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus, the two consuls, being sent against the Samnites, reduced their strength in some considerable battles. Thus they brought the war with the Samnites to an end; a war which had lasted for forty-nine years. Nor was there any enemy in Italy that put the valour of the Romans more to the test.

10

Interiectis aliquot annis iterum se Gallorum copiae contra Romanos Tuscis Samnitibusque iunxerunt, sed cum Romam tenderent, a Cn. Cornelio Dolabella consule deletae sunt.

X

After an interval of a few years, the forces of the Gauls united with the Tuscans and Samnites against the Romans; but, as they were marching to Rome, were cut off by the consul Cnaeus Cornelius Dolabella.

11

Eodem tempore Tarentinis, qui iam in ultima Italia sunt, bellum indictum est, quia legatis Romanorum iniuriam fecissent. Hi Pyrrum, Epiri regem, contra Romanos in auxilium poposcerunt, qui ex genere Achillis originem trahebat. Is mox ad Italiam venit, tumque primum Romani cum transmarino hoste dimicaverunt. Missus est contra eum consul P. Valerius Laevinus, qui cum exploratores Pyrri cepisset, iussit eos per castra duci, ostendi omnem exercitum tumque dimitti, ut renuntiarent Pyrro quaecumque a Romanis agerentur. Commissa mox pugna, cum iam Pyrrus fugeret, elephantorum auxilio vicit, quos incognitos Romani expaverunt. Sed nox proelio finem dedit; Laevinus tamen per noctem fugit, Pyrrus Romanos mille octingentos cepit et eos summo honore tractavit, occisos sepelivit. Quos cum adverso vulnere et truci vultu etiam mortuos iacere vidisset, tulisse ad caelum manus dicitur cum hac voce: se totius orbis dominum esse potuisse, si tales sibi

milites contigissent.

XI

War was at the same time proclaimed against the Tarentines (who are still a people at the extremity of Italy), because they had offered violence to some Roman ambassadors. These people asked aid against the Romans of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who derived his origin from the family of Achilles. He soon after passed over into Italy, and it was then that the Romans fought for the first time with an enemy from beyond sea. The consul Publius Valerius Laevinus was sent against him; who, having seized some spies of Pyrrhus, ordered them to be led through the camp, and the whole army to be exhibited to them, and then to be dismissed, that they might tell Pyrrhus whatever was going on among the Romans. An engagement taking place soon after, Pyrrhus, when on the point of fleeing, got the victory by means of his elephants, at the sight of which the Romans, to whom they were strange, were greatly terrified; but night put an end to the battle. Laevinus however fled during the night. Pyrrhus took a thousand eight hundred Romans prisoners, and treated them with the greatest honour; the slain he buried. On observing those lying dead, with their wounds in front, and with stern countenances, he is said to have lifted up his hands to heaven, exclaiming that “he might himself have been master of the whole world, if such soldiers had fallen to his lot.”

12

Postea Pyrrus, coniunctis sibi Samnitibus, Lucanis, Brittiis, Romam perrexit, omnia ferro ignique vastavit, Campaniam populatus est atque ad Praeneste venit, miliario ab urbe octavo decimo. Mox terrore exercitus, qui eum cum consule sequebatur, in Campaniam se recepit. Legati ad Pyrrum de redimendis captivis missi ab eo honorifice suscepti sunt. Captivos sine pretio Romam misit. Unum ex legatis Romanorum, Fabricium, sic admiratus, cum eum pauperem esse cognovisset, ut quarta parte regni promissa sollicitare voluerit, ut ad se transiret, contemptusque est a Fabricio. Quare cum Pyrrus Romanorum ingenti admiratione teneretur, legatum misit, qui pacem aequis condicionibus peteret, praecipuum virum, Cineam nomine, ita ut Pyrrus partem Italiae, quam iam armis occupaverat, obtineret.

Pyrrhus afterwards, having united to him the Samnites, the Lucanians, and the Bruttii, proceeded towards Rome. He laid all waste with fire and sword, depopulated Campania, and advanced to Praeneste, eighteen miles from Rome. Soon after, through fear of an army which was pursuing him with a consul at its head, he fell back upon Campania. Ambassadors, who were sent to treat with Pyrrhus respecting the ransom of the captives, were honourably entertained by him; and he sent the captives back to Rome without payment. Fabricius, one of the Roman ambassadors, he admired so much, that, finding he was poor, he endeavoured to draw him over to his side with the promise of a fourth part of his kingdom, but he was repulsed with disdain by Fabricius. Pyrrhus, therefore, being struck with admiration at the character of the Romans, sent an eminent man. Cineas by name, as ambassador, to ask for peace on reasonable terms, provided that he might retain possession of that part of Italy, of which he had already become master in the war.

Pax displicuit remandatumque Pyrro est a senatu eum cum Romanis, nisi ex Italia recessisset, pacem habere non posse. Tum Romani iusserunt captivos omnes, quos Pyrrus reddiderat, infames haberi, quod armati capi potuissent, nec ante eos ad veterem statum reverti, quam si binorum hostium occisorum spolia retulissent. Ita legatus Pyrri reversus est. A quo cum quaereret Pyrrus, qualem Romam comperisset, Cineas dixit regem se patriam vidisse; scilicet tales illic fere omnes esse, qualis unus Pyrrus apud Epirum et reliquam Graeciam putaretur. Missi sunt contra Pyrrum duces P. Sulpicius et Decius Mus consules. Certamine commisso Pyrrus vulneratus est, elephanti interfecti, viginti milia caesa hostium, et ex Romanis tantum quinque milia; Pyrrus Tarentum fugatus.

Such terms of peace were not satisfactory, and an answer was returned by the senate to Pyrrhus, that “he could have no peace with the Romans, unless he retired from Italy.” The Romans then ordered that all the prisoners whom Pyrrhus had sent back should be considered *infamous* because they had

suffered themselves to be taken with arms in their hands; and not to be restored to their former rank, until they had each produced the spoils of two slain enemies. Thus the ambassador of Pyrrhus returned; and, when Pyrrhus asked him “what kind of a place he had found Rome to be,” Cineas replied, that “he had seen a country of kings, for that all there were such, as Pyrrhus alone was thought to be in Epirus and the rest of Greece.”

The consuls Publius Sulpicius and Decius Mus were sent out as generals against Pyrrhus. A battle being commenced, Pyrrhus was wounded, his elephants killed, twenty thousand of the enemy slain, and of the Romans only five thousand. Pyrrhus was forced to retire to Tarentum.

14

Interiecto anno contra Pyrrum Fabricius est missus, qui prius inter legatos sollicitari non potuerat, quarta regni parte promissa. Tum, cum vicina castra ipse et rex haberent, medicus Pyrri nocte ad eum venit, promittens veneno se Pyrrum occisurum, si sibi aliquid polliceretur. Quem Fabricius vinctum reduci iussit ad dominum Pyrroque dici quae contra caput eius medicus spopondisset. Tum rex admiratus eum dixisse fertur: “Ille est Fabricius, qui difficilius ab honestate quam sol a cursu suo averti potest. “ Tum rex ad Siciliam profectus est. Fabricius victis Lucanis et Samnitibus triumphavit. Consules deinde M. Curius Dentatus et Cornelius Lentulus adversum Pyrrum missi sunt. Curius contra eum pugnavit, exercitum eius cecidit, ipsum Tarentum fugavit, castra cepit. Ea die caesa hostium viginti tria milia. Curius in consulatu triumphavit. Primus Romam elephantos quattuor duxit. Pyrrus etiam a Tarento mox recessit et apud Argos, Graeciae civitatem, occisus est.

XIV

After the lapse of a year, Fabricius was sent out against Pyrrhus, the same who, when he was before among the ambassadors, could not be won with a promise of the fourth part of his kingdom. As Fabricius and the king had their camps near to each other, the physician of Pyrrhus came to Fabricius by night, offering to despatch Pyrrhus by poison, if he would promise him some remuneration; upon which Fabricius ordered that he should be taken back in chains to his master, and that information should be given to Pyrrhus of the proposals which the physician had made against his life. The king, struck with

admiration of his conduct, is reported to have exclaimed on the occasion, "That excellent Fabricius is a man who can less easily be diverted from the path of honour, than the sun from its course." Pyrrhus then departed for Sicily. Fabricius, after defeating the Samnites and Lucanians, obtained a triumph.

The consuls Manius Curius Dentatus and Cornelius Lentulus were next sent against Pyrrhus; and Curius came to an engagement with him, cut off his army, drove him back to Tarentum. and took his camp. On that day were slain twenty-three thousand of the enemy. Curius Dentatus triumphed in his consulate. He was the first that brought elephants to Rome, in number, four. Pyrrhus also soon after quitted Tarentum, and was killed at Argos, a city of Greece.

15

C. Fabio Licinio C. Claudio Canina consulibus anno urbis conditae quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo legati Alexandrini a Ptolomaeo missi Romam venire et a Romanis amicitiam, quam petierant, obtinuerunt.

XV

In the consulship of Caius Fabricius Licinus and Caius Claudius Canina, in the four hundred and sixty-first year from the foundation of the city, ambassadors, from Alexandria, despatched by Ptolemy, arrived at Rome, and obtained from the Romans the friendship which they solicited.

16

Q. Ogulnio C. Fabio Pictore consulibus Picentes bellum commovere et ab insequentibus consulibus P. Sempronio Ap. Claudio victi sunt; et de his triumphatum est. Conditae a Romanis civitates Ariminum in Gallia et Beneventum in Samnio.

XVI

In the consulate of Quintus Ogulnius and Caius Fabius Pictor, the Picenians commenced a war, and were conquered by the succeeding consuls Publius Sempronius and Appius Claudius, and a triumph was celebrated over them. Two cities were founded by the Romans, Ariminum in Gaul, and Beneventum

in Samnium.

17

M. Atilio Regulo L. Iulio Libone consulibus Sallentinis in Apulia bellum indictum est, captique sunt cum civitate simul Brundisini, et de his triumphatum est.

XVII

When Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Junius Libo were consuls, war was declared against the Sallentines in Apulia; and the Brundusians and their city were taken, and a triumph granted on their subjugation.

18

Anno quadringentesimo septuagesimo septimo, cum iam clarum urbis Romae nomen esset, arma tamen extra Italiam mota non fuerant. Ut igitur cognosceretur, quae copiae Romanorum essent, census est habitus. Tum inventa sunt civium capita ducenta nonaginta duo milia trecenta triginta quattuor, quamquam a condita urbe numquam bella cessassent. Et contra Afros bellum susceptum est primum Ap. Claudio Q. Fulvio consulibus. In Sicilia contra eos pugnatum est et Ap. Claudius de Afris et rege Siciliae Hierone triumphavit.

XVIII

In the four hundred and seventy-seventh year of the city, although the Roman name had now become famous, yet their arms had not been carried out of Italy. That it might be ascertained, therefore, what the forces of the Romans were, a census was taken. On this occasion the number of citizens was found to be two hundred and ninety-two thousand, three hundred and thirty-four, although from the founding of the city wars had never ceased. It was then that the first war was undertaken against the Africans, in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius. A battle was fought with them in Sicily; and Appius Claudius obtained a triumph for a victory over the Africans and Hiero king of Sicily.

Insequenti anno Valerio Marco et Otacilio Crasso consulibus in Sicilia a Romanis res magnae gestae sunt. Tauromenitani, Catinenses et praeterea quinquaginta civitates in fidem acceptae. Tertio anno in Sicilia contra Hieronem, regem Siculorum, bellum paratum est. Is cum omni nobilitate Syracusanorum pacem a Romanis impetravit deditque argenti ducenta talenta. Afri in Sicilia victi sunt et de his secundo Romae triumphatum est.

XIX

In the year following, Valerius Marcus and Otacilius being consuls, great deeds were achieved by the Romans in Sicily. The Tauromenitani, Catanians, and fifty cities more, were received into alliance. In the third year the war against Hiero in Sicily was brought to an end. He, with all the Syracusan nobility, prevailed upon the Romans to grant them peace, paying down two hundred talents of silver. The Africans were defeated in Sicily, and a triumph over them granted at Rome a second time.

20

Quinto anno Punici belli, quod contra Afros gerebatur, primum Romani C. Duillio et Cn. Cornelio Asina consulibus in mari dimicaverunt paratis navibus rostratis, quas Liburnas vocant. Consul Cornelius fraude deceptus est. Duillius commisso proelio Carthaginiensium ducem vicit, triginta et unam naves cepit, quattuordecim mersit, septem milia hostium cepit, tria milia occidit. Neque ulla victoria Romanis gratior fuit, quod invicti terra iam etiam mari plurimum possent. C. Aquilio Floro L. Scipione consulibus Scipio Corsicam et Sardiniam vastavit, multa milia inde captivorum adduxit, triumphum egit.

XX

In the fifth year of the Punic war, which was carried on against the Africans, the Romans first fought by sea, in the consulate of Caius Duilius and Cnaeus Cornelius Asina, having provided themselves with vessels armed with beaks, which they term Liburnian galleys. The consul Cornelius fell a victim to treachery.¹² Duilius, joining battle, defeated the commander of the Carthaginians, took thirty-one of their ships, sunk fourteen, took seven thousand of the enemy prisoners, and slew three thousand; nor was there ever a victory more gratifying to the Romans, for they were now not only

invincible by land, but eminently powerful at sea.

In the consulship of Caius Aquilius Florus and Lucius Scipio, Scipio laid waste Corsica and Sardinia, carried away several thousand captives from thence, and obtained a triumph.

21

L. Manlio Vulsone M. Atilio Regulo consulibus bellum in Africam translatum est. Contra Hamilcarem, Carthaginiensium ducem, in mari pugnatum victusque est. Nam perditis sexaginta quattuor navibus retro se recepit. Romani viginti duas amiserunt. Sed cum in Africam transissent, primam Clypeam, Africae civitatem, in deditionem acceperunt. Consules usque ad Carthaginem processerunt multisque castellis vastatis Manlius victor Romam rediit et viginti septem milia captivorum reduxit, Atilius Regulus in Africa remansit. Is contra Afros aciem instruxit. Contra tres Carthaginiensium duces dimicans victor fuit, decem et octo milia hostium cecidit, quinque milia cum decem et octo elephantis cepit, septuaginta quattuor civitates in fidem accepit. Tum victi Carthaginienses pacem a Romanis petiverunt. Quam cum Regulus nollet nisi durissimis condicionibus dare, Afri auxilium a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt. Et duce Xanthippo, qui a Lacedaemoniis missus fuerat, Romanorum dux Regulus victus est ultima pernicie. Nam duo milia tantum ex omni Romano exercitu refugerunt, quingenti cum imperatore Regulo capti sunt, triginta milia occisa, Regulus ipse in catenas coniectus.

XXI

When Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Atilius Regulus were consuls, war was carried over into Africa against Hamilcar the general of the Carthaginians. A naval engagement was fought, and the Carthaginian utterly defeated, for he retired with the loss of sixty four of his ships. The Romans lost only twenty-two; and, having then crossed over into Africa, they compelled Clypea, the first city at which they arrived in Africa, to surrender. The consuls then advanced as far as Carthage; and, having laid waste many places, Manlius returned victorious to Rome, and brought with him twenty-seven thousand prisoners. Atilius Regulus remained in Africa. He drew up his army against the Africans; and, fighting at the same time against three Carthaginian generals, came off victorious, killed eighteen thousand of the

enemy, took five thousand prisoners, with eighteen elephants, and received seventy-four cities into alliance. The vanquished Carthaginians then sued to the Romans for peace, which Regulus refusing to grant, except upon the hardest conditions, the Africans sought aid from the Lacedaemonians, and, under a leader named Xantippus, who had been sent them by the Lacedaemonians, Regulus, the Roman general, was overthrown with a desperate slaughter; for two thousand men only escaped of all the Roman army; five hundred, with their commander Regulus, were taken prisoners, thirty thousand slain, and Regulus himself thrown into prison.

22

M. Aemilio Paulo Ser. Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus ambo Romani consules ad Africam profecti sunt cum trecentarum navium classe. Primum Afros navali certamine superant. Aemilius consul centum et quattuor naves hostium demersit, triginta cum pugnatoribus cepit, quindecim milia hostium aut occidit aut cepit, militem suum ingenti praeda ditavit. Et subacta Africa tunc fuisset, nisi quod tanta fames erat, ut diutius exercitus expectare non posset. Consules cum victrici classe redeuntes circa Siciliam naufragium passi sunt. Et tanta tempestas fuit, ut ex quadringentis sexaginta quattuor navibus tantum octoginta servari potuerint; neque ullo tempore tanta maritima tempestas audita est. Romani tamen statim ducentas naves reparaverunt, neque in aliquo animus his infractus fuit.

XXII

In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Paulus and Servius Fulvius Nobilior, both the Roman consuls set sail for Africa, with a fleet of three hundred ships. They first overcame the Africans in a sea-fight; Aemilius the consul sunk a hundred and four of the enemy's ships, took thirty, with the soldiers in them, killed or took prisoners fifteen thousand of the enemy, and enriched his own army with much plunder; and Africa would then have been subdued, but that so great a famine took place that the army could not continue there any longer. The consuls, as they were returning with their victorious fleet, suffered shipwreck on the coast of Sicily, and so violent was the storm, that out of four hundred and sixty-four ships, eighty could scarcely be saved; nor was so great a tempest at sea ever heard of at any period. The Romans, notwithstanding,

soon refitted two hundred ships, nor was their spirit at all broken by their loss.

23

Cn. Servilius Caepio C. Sempronius Blaesus consules cum ducentis sexaginta navibus ad Africam profecti sunt. Aliquot civitates ceperunt. Praedam ingentem reducentes naufragium passi sunt. Itaque cum continuae calamitates Romanis displicerent, decrevit senatus, ut a maritimis proeliis recederetur et tantum sexaginta naves ad praesidium Italiae salvae essent.

XXIII

Cnaeus Servilius Caepio and Caius Sempronius Blaesus, when consuls, set out for Africa with two hundred and sixty ships, and took several cities. As they were returning with a great booty, they suffered shipwreck; and, as these successive calamities annoyed the Romans, the senate in consequence decreed that wars by sea should be given up, and that only sixty ships should be kept for the defence of Italy.

24

L. Caecilio Metello C. Furio Placido consulibus Metellus in Sicilia Afrorum ducem cum centum triginta elephantis et magnis copiis venientem superavit, viginti milia hostium cecidit, sex et viginti elefantos cepit, reliquos errantes per Numidas, quos in auxilium habebat, collegit et Romam deduxit ingenti pompa, cum CXXX elephantorum numerus omnia itinera compleret. Post haec mala Carthaginienses Regulum ducem, quem ceperant, petiverunt, ut Romam proficisceretur et pacem a Romanis obtineret ac permutationem captivorum faceret.

XXIV

In the consulship of Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Caius Furius Pacilus, Metellus defeated a general of the Africans in Sicily, who came against him with a hundred and thirty elephants and a numerous army, slew twenty thousand of the enemy, took six and twenty elephants, collected the rest, which were dispersed, with the aid of the Numidians whom he had to assist him, and brought them to Rome in a vast procession, filling all the roads with elephants, to the number of a hundred and thirty.

After these misfortunes, the Carthaginians entreated Regulus, the Roman general whom they had taken, to go to Rome, procure them peace from the Romans, and effect an exchange of prisoners.

25

Ille Romam cum venisset, inductus in senatum nihil quasi Romanus egit, dixitque se ex illa die, qua in potestatem Afrorum venisset, Romanum esse desisse. Itaque et uxorem a complexu removit et senatui suasit, ne pax cum Poenis fieret; illos enim fractos tot casibus spem nullam habere; se tanti non esse, ut tot milia captivorum propter unum se et senem et paucos, qui ex Romanis capti fuerant, redderentur. Itaque obtinuit. Nam Afros pacem petentes nullus admisit. Ipse Carthaginem rediit, offerentibusque Romanis, ut eum Romae tenerent, negavit se in ea urbe mansurum, in qua, postquam Afris servierat, dignitatem honesti civis habere non posset. Regressus igitur ad Africam omnibus suppliciis extinctus est.

XXV

Regulus, on arriving at Rome, and being conducted into the senate, would do nothing in the character of a Roman, declaring that, “from the day when he fell into the hands of the Africans, he had ceased to be a Roman.” For this reason he both repelled his wife from embracing him, and gave his advice to the Romans, that “peace should not be made with the Carthaginians; for that they, dispirited by so many losses, had no hope left; and that, with respect to himself, he was not of such importance, that so many thousand captives should be restored on his account alone, old as he was, and for the sake of the few Romans who had been taken prisoners.” He accordingly carried his point, for no one would listen to the Carthaginians, when they applied for peace. He himself returned to Carthage, telling the Romans, when they offered to detain him at Rome, that he would not stay in a city, in which, after living in captivity among the Africans, it was impossible for him to retain the dignity of an honourable citizen. Returning therefore to Africa, he was put to death with torture of every description,

26

P. Claudio Pulchro L. Iunio consulibus Claudius contra auspicia pugnavit et a

Carthaginiensibus victus est. Nam ex ducentis et viginti navibus cum triginta fugit, nonaginta cum pugnatoribus captae sunt, demersae ceterae. Alius quoque consul naufragio classem amisit, exercitum tamen saluum habuit, quia vicina litora erant.

XXVI

When Publius Claudius Pulcher and Caius Junius were consuls, Claudius fought in opposition to the auspices. and was defeated by the Carthaginians; for, out of two hundred and twenty ships, he escaped with only thirty; ninety, together with their men, were taken, the rest sunk, and twenty thousand men made prisoners. The other consul also lost his fleet by shipwreck, but was able to save his troops, as the shore was close at hand.

27

C. Lutatio Catulo A. Postumio Albino consulibus, anno belli Punici vicesimo et tertio Catulo bellum contra Afros commissum est. Profectus est cum trecentis navibus in Siciliam; Afri contra ipsum quadringentas paraverunt. Numquam in mari tantis copiis pugnatum est. Lutatius Catulus navem aeger ascendit; vulneratus enim in pugna superiore fuerat. Contra Lilybaeum, civitatem Siciliae, pugnatum est ingenti virtute Romanorum. Nam LXIII Carthaginiensium naves captae sunt, CXXV demersae, XXXII milia hostium capta, XIII milia occisa, infinitum auri, argenti, praedae in potestatem Romanorum redactum. Ex classe Romana XII naves demersae. Pugnatum est VI Idus Martias. Statim pacem Carthaginienses petiverunt tributaque est his pax. Captivi Romanorum, qui tenebantur a Carthaginiensibus, redditi sunt. Etiam Carthaginienses petiverunt, ut redimi eos captivos liceret, quos ex Afris Romani tenebant. Senatus iussit sine pretio eos dari, qui in publica custodia essent; qui autem a privatis tenerentur, ut pretio dominis reddito Carthaginem redirent atque id pretium ex fisco magis quam a Carthaginiensibus solveretur.

XXVII

In the consulate of Caius Lutatius Catulus and Aulus Posthumius Albinus, in the twenty-third year of the Punic war, the conduct of the war against the Africans was committed to Catulus. He set sail for Sicily with three hundred ships. The Africans fitted out four hundred against him. Lutatius Catulus

embarked in an infirm state of health, having been wounded in a previous battle. An encounter took place opposite Lilybaeum, a city of Sicily, with the greatest valour on the part of the Romans, for seventy-three of the Carthaginian ships were taken, and a hundred and twenty-five sunk; thirty-two thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and thirteen thousand slain; and a vast sum in gold and silver fell into the hands of the Romans. Of the Roman fleet twelve ships were sunk. The battle was fought on the 10th of March. The Carthaginians immediately sued for peace, and peace was granted them. The Roman prisoners who were in the hands of the Carthaginians were restored; the Carthaginians also requested permission to redeem such of the Africans as the Romans kept in captivity. The senate decided that those who were state prisoners should be restored without ransom; but that those who were in the hands of private persons should return to Carthage on the payment of a sum to their owners; and that such payment should be made from the public treasury, rather than by the Carthaginians.

Q. Lutatius A. Manlius consules creati bellum Faliscis intulerunt, quae civitas Italiae opulenta quondam fuit. Quod ambo consules intra sex dies, quam venerant, transegerunt XV milibus hostium caesis, ceteris pace concessa, agro tamen ex medietate sublato.

XXVIII

Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius, being created consuls, made war upon the Falisci, formerly a powerful people of Italy, which war the consuls in conjunction brought to a termination within six days after they took the field; fifteen thousand of the enemy were slain, and peace was granted to the rest, but half their land was taken from them.

BOOK III

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, declines the aid offered him by the Romans against Antiochus; Hiero, king of Sicily, comes to see the games at Rome, I. — War with the Ligurians; the Carthaginians think of resuming hostilities, but are pacified, II. — Peace throughout the dominions of Rome, III. — The Illyrian war, IV. — Disasters of the Gauls that invaded Italy, V. VI. — The second Punic war, VII.-XXIII.

1

Finito igitur Punico bello, quod per XXIII annos tractum est, Romani iam clarissima gloria noti legatos ad Ptolomaeum, Aegypti regem, miserunt auxilia promittentes, quia rex Syriae Antiochus bellum ei intulerat. Ille gratias Romanis egit, auxilia a Romanis non accepit. Iam enim fuerat pugna transacta. Eodem tempore potentissimus rex Siciliae Hiero Romam venit ad ludos spectandos et ducenta milia modiorum tritici populo donum exhibuit.

I

The Punic war being now ended, after having been protracted though three and twenty years, the Romans, who were now distinguished by transcendent glory, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, with offers of assistance; for Antiochus, king of Syria, had made war upon him. He returned thanks to the Romans, but declined their aid, the struggle being now over. About the same time. Hiero, the most powerful king of Sicily, visited Rome to witness the games, and distributed two hundred thousand modii of wheat among the people.

2

L. Cornelio Lentulo Fulvio Flacco consulibus, quibus Hiero Romam venerat, etiam contra Ligures intra Italiam bellum gestum est et de his triumphatum. Carthaginenses tamen bellum reparare temptabant, Sardinienses, qui ex condicione pacis Romanis parere debebant, ad rebellandum impellentes. Venit tamen Romam legatio Carthaginensium et pacem impetravit.

II

In the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Fulvius Flaccus, in whose time Hiero came to Rome, war was carried on, within the limits of Italy,

against the Ligurians, and a triumph obtained over them. The Carthaginians, too, at the same time, attempted to renew the war, soliciting the Sardinians, who, by an article of the peace, were bound to submit to the Romans, to rebel. A deputation, however, of the Carthaginians came to Rome, and obtained peace.

3

T. Manlio Torquato C. Atilio Bulco consulibus de Sardis triumphatum est, et pace omnibus locis facta Romani nullum bellum habuerunt, quod his post Romam conditam semel tantum Numa Pompilio regnante contigerat.

III

Under the consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Attilius Bulbus, a triumph was obtained over the Sardinians; and, peace being concluded on all sides, the Romans had now no war on their hands, a circumstance which had happened to them but once before since the building of the city, in the reign of Numa Pompilius.

4

L. Postumius Albinus Cn. Fulvius Centumalus consules bellum contra Illyrios gesserunt et multis civitatibus captis etiam reges in deditionem acceperunt. Ac tum primum ex Illyriis triumphatum est.

IV

Lucius Posthumius Albinus and Cnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, when consuls, conducted a war against the Illyrians; and, having taken many of their towns, reduced their kings to a surrender, and it was then for the first time that a triumph was celebrated over the Illyrians.

5

L. Aemilio consule ingentes Gallorum copiae Alpes transierunt. Sed pro Romanis tota Italia consensit, traditumque est a Fabio historico, qui ei bello interfuit, DCCC milia hominum parata ad id bellum fuisse. Sed res per consulem tantum prospere gesta est. XL milia hostium interfecta sunt et triumphus Aemilio decretus.

When Lucius Aemilius was consul, a vast force of the Gauls crossed the Alps; but all Italy united in favour of the Romans; and it is recorded by Fabius the historian, who was present in that war, that there were eight hundred thousand men ready for the contest. Affairs, however, were brought to a successful termination by the consul alone; forty thousand of the enemy were killed, and a triumph decreed to Aemilius.

Aliquot deinde annis post contra Gallos intra Italiam pugnatum est, finitumque bellum M. Claudio Marcello et Cn. Cornelio Scipione consulibus. Tum Marcellus cum parva manu equitum dimicavit et regem Gallorum, Viridomarum nomine, manu sua occidit. Postea cum collega ingentes copias Gallorum peremit, Mediolanum expugnavit, grandem praedam Romam pertulit. Ac triumphans Marcellus spolia Galli stipiti inposita umeris suis vexit.

A few years after, a battle was fought with the Gauls within the borders of Italy, and an end put to the war, in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio. Marcellus took the field with a small body of horse, and slew the king of the Gauls, Viridomarus, with his own hand. Afterwards, in conjunction with his colleague, he cut to pieces a numerous army of the Gauls, stormed Milan, and carried off a vast booty to Rome. Marcellus, at his triumph, bore the spoils of the Gaul, fixed upon a pole on his shoulders.

M. Minucio Rufo P. Cornelio consulibus Histris bellum inlatum est, quia latrocinati navibus Romanorum fuerant, quae frumenta exhibebant, perdomitique sunt omnes. Eodem anno bellum Punicum secundum Romanis inlatum est per Hannibalem, Carthaginensium ducem, qui Saguntum, Hispaniae civitatem Romanis amicam, obpugnare adgressus est, annum agens vicesimum aetatis, copiis congregatis CL milium. Huic Romani per legatos

denuntiaverunt, ut bello abstineret. Is legatos admittere noluit. Romani etiam Carthaginem miserunt, ut mandaretur Hannibali, ne bellum contra socios populi Romani gereret. Dura responsa a Carthaginiensibus data sunt. Saguntini interea fame victi sunt, captique ab Hannibale ultimis poenis adficiuntur.

VII

In the consulate of Marcus Minucius Rufus and Publius Cornelius, war was made upon the Istrians, because they had plundered some ships of the Romans, which were bringing a supply of corn, and they were entirely subdued.

In the same year the second Punic war was commenced against the Romans by Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, who, in the twentieth year of his age, proceeded to besiege Saguntum, a city of Spain, in alliance with the Romans, having assembled for that purpose an army of fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The Romans warned him, by deputies sent for the purpose, to desist from hostilities, but he refused them audience. The Romans sent also to Carthage, requiring that orders should be sent to Hannibal, not to make war on the allies of the Roman people; but the reply made by the Carthaginians promised no compliance. The Saguntines in the meantime, worn out with famine, were taken by Hannibal, and put to death with the utmost cruelty.

8

Tum P. Cornelius Scipio cum exercitu in Hispaniam profectus est, Ti. Sempronius in Siciliam, bellum Carthaginiensibus indictum est. Hannibal relicto in Hispania fratre Hasdrubale Pyrenaeum transiit. Alpes, adhuc ea parte invias, sibi patefecit. Traditur ad Italiam LXXX milia peditum, X milia equitum, septem et XXX elephantos adduxisse. Interea multi Ligures et Galli Hannibali se coniunxerunt. Sempronius Gracchus cognito ad Italiam Hannibalis adventu ex Sicilia exercitum Ariminum traiecit.

VIII

Publius Cornelius Scipio then went with an army into Spain, and Tiberius

Sempronius into Sicily. War was declared against the Carthaginians. Hannibal, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, passed the Pyrenees, and made a way over the Alps, which, in that part, were previously impassable. He is said to have brought into Italy eighty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. Numbers of the Ligurians and Gauls joined him on his march. Sempronius Gracchus, hearing of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, conveyed over his army from Sicily to Ariminum.

9

P. Cornelius Scipio Hannibali primus occurrit. Commisso proelio, fugatis suis ipse vulneratus in castra rediit. Sempronius Gracchus et ipse configit apud Trebiam amnem. Is quoque vincitur. Hannibali multi se in Italia dederunt. Inde ad Tusciam veniens Hannibal Flaminio consuli occurrit. Ipsum Flaminium interemit; Romanorum XXV milia caesa sunt, ceteri diffugerunt. Missus adversus Hannibalem postea a Romanis Q. Fabius Maximus. Is eum differendo pugnam ab impetu fregit, mox inventa occasione vicit.

IX

The first to meet Hannibal was Publius Cornelius Scipio; a battle being commenced, and his troops put to flight, he retired wounded into his camp. Sempronius Gracchus also came to an engagement with him near the river Trebia, and he too was defeated. Numbers in Italy submitted to Hannibal; who, marching from thence into Tuscany, encountered the consul Flaminius. Flaminius himself he cut off; and twenty-five thousand of the Romans were slain; the rest saved themselves by flight. Quintus Fabius Maximus was afterwards sent by the Romans to oppose Hannibal. This general, by avoiding an engagement, checked his impetuosity; and soon after, finding a favourable opportunity, defeated him.

10

Quingentesimo et quadragesimo anno a condita urbe L. Aemilius Paulus P. Terentius Varro contra Hannibalem mittuntur Fabioque succedunt, qui abiens ambo consules monuit, ut Hannibalem, callidum et inpatientem ducem, non aliter vincerent, quam proelium differendo. Verum cum inpatientia Varronis consulis contradicente altero consule === id est Aemilio Paulo ===apud

vicum, qui Cannae appellatur in Apulia, pugnatum esset, ambo consules ab Hannibale vincuntur. In ea pugna tria milia Afrorum pereunt; magna pars de exercitu Hannibalis sauciatur. Nullo tamen proelio Punico bello Romani gravius accepti sunt. Perit enim in eo consul Aemilius Paulus, consulares aut praetorii XX, senatores capti aut occisi XXX, nobiles viri CCC, militum XL milia, equitum III milia et quingenti. In quibus malis nemo tamen Romanorum pacis mentionem habere dignatus est. Servi, quod numquam ante, manumissi et milites facti sunt.

X

In the five hundred and fortieth year from the foundation of the city, Lucius Aemilius and Publius Terentius Varro were sent against Hannibal, and took the place of Fabius, who forewarned both the consuls, that they could conquer Hannibal, who was a bold and energetic leader, only by declining a pitched battle with him. But an engagement being brought on, through the impetuosity of the consul Varro, in opposition to his colleague, near a village called Cannae, in Apulia, both the consuls were defeated by Hannibal. In this battle three thousand of the Africans fell, and a great part of Hannibal's army were wounded. The Romans, however, never received so severe a blow at any period of the Punic wars; for the consul Aemilius Paulus was killed; twenty officers of consular and praetorian rank, thirty senators, and three hundred others of noble descent, were taken or slain, as well as forty thousand foot-soldiers, and three thousand five hundred horse. During all these calamities, however, not one of the Romans deigned to speak of peace. A number of slaves were set free and made soldiers, a measure never before adopted.

11

Post eam pugnam multae Italiae civitates, quae Romanis paruerant, se ad Hannibalem transtulerunt. Hannibal Romanis obtulit, ut captivos redimerent, responsumque est a senatu eos cives non esse necessarios, qui cum armati essent, capi potuissent. Ille omnes postea variis suppliciis interfecit et tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus equitum Romanorum, senatorum et militum detraxerat. Interea in Hispania, ubi frater Hannibalis Hasdrubal remanserat cum magno exercitu, ut eam totam Afris subigeret, a duobus Scipionibus, Romanis ducibus, vincitur. Perdit in pugna

XXXV milia hominum; ex his capiuntur X milia, occiduntur XXV milia. Mittuntur ei a Carthaginiensibus ad reparandas vires XII milia peditum, IV milia equitum, XX elephanti.

XI

After this battle, several cities of Italy, which had been subject to the Romans, went over to Hannibal. Hannibal made proposals to the Romans concerning the redemption of the prisoners, but the senate replied, that “such citizens as would suffer themselves to be taken with arms in their hands were of no value to them.” Hannibal then put them all to death with various tortures, and sent three modii of gold rings to Carthage, which he had taken from the fingers of Roman knights, senators, and soldiers. In the meantime, Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, who had remained in Spain with a numerous army, in order to reduce all that country under the dominion of the Africans, was defeated there by the two Scipios, the Roman generals, and lost thirty-five thousand men in the battle; of these ten thousand were made prisoners, and twenty-five thousand slain. Upon this, twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and twenty elephants were sent to him by the Carthaginians to reinforce his army.

12

Anno quarto postquam ad Italiam Hannibal venit, M. Claudius Marcellus consul apud Nola, civitatem Campaniae, contra Hannibalem bene pugnavit. Hannibal multas civitates Romanorum per Apuliam, Calabriam, Brittios occupavit. Quo tempore etiam rex Macedoniae Philippus ad eum legatos misit, promittens auxilia contra Romanos sub hac condicione, ut deletis Romanis ipse quoque contra Graecos ab Hannibale auxilia acciperet. Captis igitur legatis Philippi et re cognita Romani in Macedoniam M. Valerium Laevinum ire iusserunt, in Sardiniam T. Manlium Torquatum proconsulem. Nam etiam ea sollicitata ab Hannibale, Romanos deseruerat.

XII

In the fourth year after Hannibal’s arrival in Italy, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, one of the consuls, engaged him with success at Nola, a city of Campania. But Hannibal possessed himself of several of the Roman cities in

Apulia, Calabria, and the country of the Bruttii. About this time also Philip, king of Macedonia, sent ambassadors to him, offering him assistance against the Romans, on condition that, when he had subdued them, he, in turn, should receive assistance from Hannibal against the Greeks. But Philip's ambassadors being taken, and the affair thus discovered, the Romans ordered Marcus Valerius Laevinus to proceed to Macedonia, and Titus Manlius, as proconsul, into Sardinia; for that island also, at the solicitation of Hannibal, had revolted from the Romans.

13

Ita uno tempore quattuor locis pugnabatur: in Italia contra Hannibalem, in Hispaniis contra fratrem eius Hasdrubalem, in Macedonia contra Philipppum, in Sardinia contra Sardos et alterum Hasdrubalem Carthaginensem. Is a T. Manlio proconsule, qui ad Sardiniam missus fuerat, vivus est captus, occisa cum eo duodecim milia, capti mille quingenti, et a Romanis Sardinia subacta. Manlius victor captivos et Hasdrubalem Romam reportavit. Interea etiam Philipppus a Laevino in Macedonia vincitur et in Hispania ab Scipionibus Hasdrubal et Mago, tertius frater Hannibalis.

XIII

Thus war was carried on at the same time in four different places; in Italy, against Hannibal; in Spain, against Hasdrubal his brother; in Macedonia, against Philip; in Sardinia, against the Sardinians and another Hasdrubal, also a Carthaginian. Hasdrubal was taken alive by Titus Manlius the proconsul, who had been sent into Sardinia; twelve thousand of his men were slain, fifteen hundred made prisoners, and Sardinia brought under subjection to the Romans. Manlius, being thus successful, brought Hasdrubal and his other prisoners to Rome. In the meantime, Philip also was defeated by Laevinus in Macedonia, and Hasdrubal and Mago, a third brother of Hannibal, by the Scipios in Spain.

14

Decimo anno postquam Hannibal in Italiam venerat, P. Sulpicio Cn. Fulvio consulibus, Hannibal usque ad quartum miliarium urbis accessit, equites eius usque ad portam. Mox consulum cum exercitu venientium metu Hannibal ad

Campaniam se recepit. In Hispania a fratre eius Hasdrubale ambo Scipiones, qui per multos annos victores fuerant, interficiuntur, exercitus tamen integer mansit; casu enim magis erant quam virtute decepti. Quo tempore etiam a consule Marcello Siciliae magna pars capta est, quam tenere Afri coeperant, et nobilissima urbs Syracusana; praeda ingens Romam perlata est. Laevinus in Macedonia cum Philippo et multis Graeciae populis et rege Asiae Attalo amicitiam fecit, et ad Siciliam profectus Hannonem quendam, Afrorum ducem, apud Agrigentum civitatem cum ipso oppido cepit eumque Romam cum captivis nobilibus misit. XL civitates in deditionem accepit, XXVI expugnavit. Ita omnis Sicilia recepta et Macedonia fracta; ingenti gloria Romam regressus est. Hannibal in Italia Cn. Fulvium consulem subito adgressus cum octo milibushominum interfecit.

XIV

In the tenth year after Hannibal's arrival in Italy, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Cnaeus Fulvius, Hannibal advanced within four miles of Rome, and his cavalry rode up to the very gates; but soon after, through fear of the consuls, who were coming upon him with an army, he withdrew into Campania. In Spain, the two Scipios, who had been victorious for many years, were killed by his brother Hasdrubal; the army however remained in full strength, for the generals had been ensnared rather by accident than the valour of the enemy. About this time, also, a great part of Sicily, which the Africans had begun to appropriate, was recovered by the consul Marcellus, and vast spoil brought to Rome from the celebrated city of Syracuse. In Macedonia, Laevinus made an alliance with Philip, and several of the Grecian states, as well as with Attalus, king of Asia; and, proceeding afterwards to Sicily, took Hanno, a general of the Carthaginians, at the city of Agrigentum, together with the town itself, and sent him with other noble prisoners to Rome. Forty cities he obliged to surrender; twenty-six he carried by storm. Thus all Sicily being recovered, and Macedonia humbled, he returned with great glory to Rome. In Italy, Hannibal, attacking Cnaeus Fulvius, one of the consuls, by surprise, cut him off, together with eight thousand of his men.

Interea ad Hispanias, ubi occisis duobus Scipionibus nullus Romanus dux

erat, P. Cornelius Scipio mittitur, filius P. Scipionis, qui ibidem bellum gesserat, annos natus quattuor et viginti, vir Romanorum omnium et sua aetate et posteriore tempore fere primus. Is Carthaginem Hispaniae capit, in qua omne aurum, argentum et belli apparatus Afri habebant, nobilissimos quoque obsides, quos ab Hispanis acceperant. Magonem etiam, fratrem Hannibalis, ibidem capit, quem Romam cum aliis mittit. Romae ingens laetitia post hunc nuntium fuit. Scipio Hispanorum obsides parentibus reddidit; quare omnes fere Hispaniae uno animo ad eum transierunt. Post quae Hasdrubalem, Hannibalis fratrem, victum fugat et praedam maximam capit.

XV

In the meantime, Publius Cornelius Scipio, a man almost the very first of all the Romans, both in his own and succeeding ages, son of that Publius Scipio who had carried on the war there before, was despatched, at the age of twenty-four, into Spain, where, after the death of the two Scipios, no Roman general was now left. He took Carthage, in Spain, in which the Africans kept all their gold, and silver, and warlike stores; he took also a number of hostages, whom the Carthaginians had received from the Spaniards, as well as Mago, the brother of Hannibal, whom he sent with others to Rome. The rejoicing at Rome on this intelligence was very great. Scipio restored the Spanish hostages to their parents; and in consequence almost all the Spaniards unanimously joined him. Soon after, he put to flight Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and took a great quantity of spoil.

16

Interea in Italia consul Q. Fabius Maximus Tarentum recepit, in qua ingentes copiae Hannibalis erant. Ibi etiam ducem Hannibalis Carthalonem occidit, XXV milia hominum captivorum vendidit, praedam militibus dispertivit, pecuniam hominum venditorum ad fiscum retulit. Tum multae civitates Romanorum, quae ad Hannibalem transierant prius, rursus se Fabio Maximo dederunt. Insequenti anno Scipio in Hispania egregias res egit et per se et per fratrem suum L. Scipionem; LXX civitates receperunt. In Italia tamen male pugnatum est. Nam Claudius Marcellus consul ab Hannibale occisus est.

XVI

In Italy, meanwhile, Quintus Fabius Maximus, one of the consuls, recovered Tarentum, where a great body of Hannibal's troops were quartered, and cut off there also Carthalo, one of Hannibal's generals; twenty-five thousand of the prisoners he sold for slaves; the spoil he divided among the soldiers; and the money arising from the sale of the prisoners, he paid into the public treasury. At this time, several of the Roman cities, which had gone over to Hannibal, submitted themselves again to Fabius Maximus.

In the following year Scipio performed extraordinary exploits in Spain, and, by his own exertions and those of his brother Lucius Scipio, recovered seventy cities. In Italy, however, the war went on unsuccessfully, for Claudius Marcellus the consul was cut off by Hannibal.

17

Tertio anno postquam Scipio ad Hispanias profectus fuerat, rursus res inclitas gerit. Regem Hispaniarum magno proelio victum in amicitiam accepit et primus omnium a victo obsides non poposcit.

XVII

In the third year after Scipio's departure for Spain, he again greatly distinguished himself. A king of Spain, whom he had conquered in a great battle, he received into alliance; and was the first that refrained from demanding hostages of a vanquished enemy.

18

Desperans Hannibal Hispanias contra Scipionem diutius posse retinere, fratrem suum Hasdrubalem ad Italiam cum omnibus copiis evocavit. Is veniens eodem itinere, quo etiam Hannibal venerat, a consulibus Ap. Claudio Nerone et M. Livio Salinatore apud Senam, Piceni civitatem, in insidias compositas incidit. Strenue tamen pugnans occisus est; ingentes eius copiae captae aut interfectae sunt, magnum pondus auri atque argenti Romam relatum est. Post haec Hannibal diffidere iam de belli coepit eventum. Romanis ingens animus accessit; itaque et ipsi evocaverunt ex Hispania P. Cornelium Scipionem. Is Romam cum ingenti gloria venit.

XVIII

Hannibal, having no hope that Spain could be held longer against Scipio, summoned from it Hasdrubal his brother, with all his troops, to join him in Italy. Hasdrubal, pursuing the same route by which Hannibal had gone, fell into an ambush laid for him by the consuls Appius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator, near Sena, a city of Picenum, but fell fighting valiantly; his numerous forces were either taken or put to the sword; and a great quantity of gold and silver carried off to Rome. Hannibal now began to despair of the issue of the war, and an accession of courage was felt by the Romans. They, therefore, also recalled Publius Cornelius Scipio out of Spain; who arrived at Rome with great glory.

19

Q. Caecilio L. Valerio consulibus omnes civitates, quae in Brittiis ab Hannibale tenebantur, Romanis se tradiderunt.

XIX

In the consulate of Quintus Caecilius and Lucius Valerius, all the cities in the territory of the Bruttii, which were in the possession of Hannibal, surrendered to the Romans.

20

Anno quarto decimo posteaquam in Italiam Hannibal venerat, Scipio, qui multa bene in Hispania egerat, consul est factus et in Africam missus. Cui viro divinum quiddam inesse existimabatur, adeo ut putaretur etiam cum numinibus habere sermonem. Is in Africa contra Hannonem, ducem Afrorum, pugnât; exercitum eius interficit. Secundo proelio castra capit cum quattuor milibus et quingentis militibus, XI milibus occisis. Syphacem, Numidiaë regem, qui se Afris coniunxerat, capit et castra eius invadit. Syphax cum nobilissimis Numidis et infinitis spoliis Romam a Scipione mittitur. Qua re audita omnis fere Italia Hannibalem deserit. Ipse a Carthaginiensibus redire in Africam iubetur, quam Scipio vastabat.

XX

In the fourteenth year after Hannibal's invasion of Italy, Scipio, who had achieved such successes in Spain, was created consul, and sent into Africa; a

man in whom there was thought to be something divine, so that he was even imagined to hold converse with the gods. He encountered Hanno, the general of the Carthaginians in Africa, and destroyed his army. In a second battle he took his camp, with four thousand five hundred of his soldiers, eleven thousand being killed. Syphax, king of Numidia, who had joined the Africans, he took prisoner, and became master of his camp. Syphax himself, with the noblest of the Numidians, and a vast quantity of spoil, was sent by Scipio to Rome; on the news of which event, almost all Italy forsook Hannibal, who was desired by the Carthaginians to return to Africa, which Scipio was now laying waste.

21

Ita anno septimo decimo ab Hannibale Italia liberata est. Legati Carthaginiensium pacem a Scipione petiverunt; ab eo ad senatum Romam missi sunt. Quadraginta et quinque diebus his indutiae datae sunt, quousque ire Romam et regredi possent; et triginta milia pondo argenti ab his accepta sunt. Senatus ex arbitrio Scipionis pacem iussit cum Carthaginiensibus fieri. Scipio his condicionibus dedit: ne amplius quam triginta naves haberent, ut quingenta milia pondo argenti darent, captivos et perfugas redderent.

XXI

Thus, in the seventeenth year after his arrival, Italy was delivered from Hannibal, and he is said to have quitted it with tears. Ambassadors from the Carthaginians applied to Scipio for peace, by whom they were sent to the senate, a truce of forty-five days being allowed for their journey to and from Rome; thirty thousand pounds of silver were accepted from them. The senate directed that a peace should be concluded with the Carthaginians at the discretion of Scipio. Scipio granted it on these conditions: "that they should retain, no more than thirty ships, that they should pay to the Romans five hundred thousand pounds of silver, and restore all the prisoners and deserters."

22

Interim Hannibale veniente ad Africam pax turbata est, multa hostilia ab Afris facta sunt. Legati tamen eorum ex urbe venientes a Romanis capti sunt, sed

iubente Scipione dimissi. Hannibal quoque frequentibus proeliis victus a Scipione petit etiam ipse pacem. Cum ventum esset ad colloquium, isdem condicionibus data est, quibus prius, additis quingentis milibus pondo argenti centum milibus librarum propter novam perfidiam. Carthaginiensibus condiciones displicuerunt iusseruntque Hannibalem pugnare. Infertur a Scipione et Masinissa, alio rege Numidarum, qui amicitiam cum Scipione fecerat, Carthagini bellum. Hannibal tres exploratores ad Scipionis castra misit, quos captos Scipio circumduci per castra iussit ostendique his totum exercitum, mox etiam prandium dari dimittique, ut renuntiarent Hannibali quae apud Romanos vidissent.

XXII

Hannibal in the meantime landing in Africa, the treaty was interrupted. Many hostilities were committed by the Carthaginians; yet when their ambassadors, as they were returning from Rome, were made prisoners by some Roman troops, they were by Scipio's orders set at liberty. Hannibal too, being defeated by Scipio in several battles, expressed also himself a desire for peace. A conference being held, peace was offered on the same terms as before, only a hundred thousand pounds of silver were added to the former five hundred thousand, on account of their late perfidy. The terms were, unsatisfactory to the Carthaginians, and they ordered Hannibal to continue the war.

The war was carried by Scipio, and Masinissa, another king of the Numidians, who had made an alliance with Scipio, to the very walls of Carthage. Hannibal sent three spies into Scipio's camp, who were captured, and Scipio ordered them to be led round the camp, the whole army to be shown them, and themselves to be entertained and dismissed, that they might report to Hannibal all that they had seen among the Romans.

Interea proelium ab utroque duce instructum est, quale vix ulla memoria fuit, cum peritissimi viri copias suas ad bellum educerent. Scipio victor recedit paene ipso Hannibale capto, qui primum cum multis equitibus, deinde cum viginti, postremo cum quattuor evasit. Inventa in castris Hannibalis argenti pondo viginti milia, auri octoginta, cetera supellectilis copiosa. Post id

certamen pax cum Carthaginiensibus facta est. Scipio Romam rediit, ingenti gloria triumphavit atque Africanus ex eo appellari coeptus est. Finem accepit secundum Punicum bellum post annum nonum decimum, quam coeperat.

XXIII

In the meantime preparations were made by both generals for a battle, such as scarce ever occurred in any age, since they were the ablest commanders that ever led forces into the field. Scipio came off victorious, having almost captured Hannibal himself, who escaped at first with several horse, then with twenty, and at last with only four. There were found in Hannibal's camp twenty thousand pounds of silver, and eight hundred of gold, with plenty of stores. After this battle, peace was concluded with the Carthaginians. Scipio returned to Rome, and triumphed with the greatest glory, receiving from that period the appellation of Africanus. Thus the second Punic war was brought to an end in the nineteenth year after it began.

BOOK IV

War with Philip, king of Macedonia, I. II. — War with Antiochus, king of Syria, III. IV. — Triumph of Fulvius over the Aetolians; death of Hannibal, V. — War with Perseus, king of Macedonia, and with Gentius, king of Illyria, VI. — VIII. — Successes of Mummius in Spain, IX. — Third Punic war, and destruction of Carthage, X. — XII. — War in Macedonia with Pseudo Philip, XIII. — The Achaean war, and destruction of Corinth, XIV. — War in Macedonia with Pseudo Perseus, XV. — War in Spain with Viriatus, XVI. — Numantine war ended by Scipio, XVII. — Attains bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman people, XVIII. — Triumphs of Junius Brutus and Scipio, XIX. — War in Asia with Aristonicus, XX. — Carthage becomes a Roman colony, XXI. — War with the Transalpine Gauls, and Bituitus, king of the Arverni, XXII. — A colony settled at Narbonne; a triumph over Dalmatia, XXIII. — Unsuccessful war with the Scordisci, XXIV. — Triumphs over Sardinia and Thrace, XXV. — War with Jugurtha, XXVI. XXVII.

1

Transacto Punico bello secutum est Macedonicum contra Philippum regem quingentesimo quinquagesimo et primo anno ab urbe condita.

I

After the Punic was terminated, the Macedonian war, against King Philip, succeeded.

2

T. Quintius Flamininus adversum Philippum missus rem prospere gessit. Pax ei data est his legibus: ne Graeciae civitatibus, quas Romani contra eum defenderant, bellum inferret, ut captivos et transfugas redderet, quinquaginta solas naves haberet, reliquas Romanis dederet, per annos decem quaterna milia pondo argenti praestaret et obsidem daret filium suum Demetrium. T. Quintius etiam Lacedaemoniis intulit bellum. Ducem eorum Nabidem vicit et quibus voluit condicionibus in fidem accepit. Ingenti gloria triumphavit; duxit ante currum nobilissimos obsides, Demetrium, Philippi filium, et Armenen Nabidis.

II

In the five hundred and fifty-first year from the building of the city, Titus Quintius Flamininus was sent against King Philip. He was successful in his

undertaking; and peace was granted to Philip on these conditions, that “he should not make war on those states of Greece which the Romans had defended against him; that he should restore the prisoners and deserters; that he should retain only fifty vessels, and deliver up the rest to the Romans; that he should pay, for ten years, a tribute of four thousand pounds weight of silver; and give his own son Demetrius as a hostage.” Titus Quintius made war also on the Lacedaemonians; defeated their general Nabis, and admitted them into alliance on such terms as he thought proper. He led with great pride before his chariot hostages of most noble rank, Demetrius the son of Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis.

3

Transacto bello Macedonico secutum est Syriacum contra Antiochum regem P. Cornelio Scipione M. Acilio Glabrione consulibus. Huic Antiocho Hannibal se iunxerat, Carthaginem, patriam suam, metu, ne Romanis traderetur, relinquens. M. Acilius Glabrio in Achaia bene pugnavit. Castra regis Antiochi nocturna pugna capta sunt, ipse fugatus. Philippo, quia contra Antiochum Romanis fuisset auxilio, filius Demetrius redditus est.

III

The Macedonian war being thus terminated, the Syrian war, against King Antiochus, succeeded, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Manius Acilius Glabrio, To this Antiochus Hannibal had joined himself, abandoning his native country, Carthage, to escape being delivered up to the Romans. Manius Acilius Glabrio fought successfully in Achaia. The camp of King Antiochus was taken by an attack in the night, and he himself obliged to flee. To Philip his son Demetrius was restored, for having assisted the Romans in their contest with Antiochus.

4

L. Cornelio Scipione et C. Laelio consulibus Scipio Africanus fratri suo L. Cornelio Scipioni consuli legatus datus contra Antiochum profectus est. Hannibal, qui cum Antiocho erat, navali proelio victus est. Ipse postea Antiochus circa Sipylum apud Magnesiam, Asiae civitatem, a consule Cornelio Scipione ingenti proelio fusus est. Auxilio fuit Romanis in ea pugna

Eumenes, Attali regis frater, qui Eumeniam in Phrygia condidit. Quinquaginta milia peditum, tria equitum eo certamine ex parte regis occisa sunt. Tum rex pacem petit. Isdem condicionibus data est a senatu, quamquam victo, quibus ante offerebatur: ut ex Europa et Asia recederet atque intra Taurum se contineret, decem milia talentorum et viginti obsides praeberet, Hannibalem, concitatorem belli, dederet. Eumeni regi donatae sunt a senatu omnes Asiae civitates, quas Antiochus bello perdidit, et Rhodiis, qui auxilium Romanis contra regem Antiochum tulerant, multae urbes concessae sunt. Scipio Romam rediit, ingenti gloria triumphavit. Nomen et ipse ad imitationem fratris Asiagenis accepit, quia Asiam vicerat, sicuti frater ipsius propter Africam domitam Africanus appellabatur.

IV

In the consulate of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Laelius, Scipio Africanus went out as lieutenant to his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the consul, against Antiochus. Hannibal, who was with Antiochus, was defeated in a battle by sea. Antiochus himself was afterwards routed by Cornelius Scipio, the consul, in a great battle at Magnesia, a city of Asia, near mount Sipylus. Eumenes, who founded the city of Eumenia in Phrygia, the brother of king Attalus, assisted the Romans in that engagement. Fifty thousand foot, and three thousand horse were killed in that battle on the side of the king. In consequence, King Antiochus sued for peace, which was granted to him, though vanquished, by the senate, on the same conditions as it had been offered before: "that he should withdraw from Europe and Asia, and confine himself within mount Taurus; that he should pay ten thousand talents, and give twenty hostages, and surrender Hannibal, the author of the war." All the cities of Asia, which Antiochus had lost in this war, were given to Eumenes; many cities also were granted to the Rhodians, who had assisted the Romans against Antiochus. Scipio returned to Rome, and celebrated his triumph with great pomp; and he also, after the example of his brother, received the name of Asiaticus, from his conquest of Asia; as his brother, from the subjugation of Africa, had been surnamed Africanus.

triumphavit. Hannibal, qui victo Antiocho, ne Romanis traderetur, ad Prusiam, Bithyniae regem, fugerat, repetitus etiam ab eo est per T. Quintium Flaminium. Et, cum tradendus Romanis esset, venenum bibit et apud Libyssam in finibus Nicomedensium sepultus est.

V

Under the consuls Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Fulvius triumphed for conquering the Aetolians. Hannibal, who, on the defeat of Antiochus, had fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia, that he might not be surrendered to the Romans, was demanded also at his hands by Titus Quintius Flamininus; and, as he seemed likely to be surrendered, he drank poison, and was buried at Libyssa, in the territory of the Nicomedians.

6

Philippo, rege Macedoniae, mortuo, qui et adversum Romanos bellum gesserat et postea Romanis contra Antiochum auxilium tulerat, filius eius Perseus in Macedonia rebellavit ingentibus copiis ad bellum paratis. Nam adiutores habebat Cotyn, Thraciae regem, et regem Illyrici, Gentium nomine. Romanis autem in auxilio erant Eumenes, Asiae rex, Ariaratus Cappadociae, Antiochus Syriae, Ptolomaeus Aegypti, Masinissa Numidiae. Prusias autem Bithyniae, quamquam sororem Persei uxorem haberet, utrisque se aequum praebuit. Dux Romanorum P. Licinius consul contra eum missus est et a rege gravi proelio victus. Neque tamen Romani, quamquam superati, regi petenti pacem praestare voluerunt, nisi his condicionibus: ut se et suos senatui et populo Romano dederet. Mox missus contra eum L. Aemilius Paulus consul et in Illyricum C. Anicius praetor contra Gentium. Sed Gentius facile uno proelio victus mox se dedit. Mater eius et uxor et duo filii, frater quoque simul in potestatem Romanorum venerunt. Ita bello intra XXX dies perfecto ante cognitum est Gentium victum, quam coeptum bellum nuntiaretur.

VI

On the death of Philip, king of Macedonia, who had both waged war with the Romans, and afterwards given aid to the Romans against Antiochus, his son Perseus took up arms again in Macedonia, having levied great forces for the war, and having as allies Cotys, king of Thrace, and the king of Illyricum,

whose name was Gentius. On the side of the Romans were Eumenes, king of Asia, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Masinissa of Numidia. Prusias, the king of Bithynia, although he had married the sister of Perseus, remained neutral. The general of the Romans, the consul Publius Licinius, was defeated by Perseus in a severe engagement; yet the Romans, although vanquished, refused peace to the king when he solicited it, except on condition that he should surrender himself and his people to the senate and the people of Rome. The consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus was afterwards sent against him, and the praetor Caius Anicius into Illyricum against Gentius: but Gentius, being defeated with ease in a single battle, soon surrendered; and his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his brother, fell at the same time into the power of the Romans. Thus the war was terminated within thirty days, and the news of Gentius's defeat arrived before it was announced that the war had been begun.

7

Cum Perseo autem Aemilius Paulus consul III Nonas Septembres dimicavit vicitque eum viginti milibus peditum eius occisis. Equitatus cum rege integer fugit. Romanorum centum milites amissi sunt. Urbes Macedoniae omnes, quas rex tenuerat, Romanis se dediderunt; ipse rex, cum desereretur ab amicis, venit in Pauli potestatem. Sed honorem ei Aemilius Paulus consul non quasi victo habuit. Nam et volentem ad pedes sibi cadere non permisit et iuxta se in sella conlocavit. Macedonibus et Illyriis hae leges a Romanis datae: ut liberi essent et dimidium eorum tributorum praestarent, quae regibus praestitissent, ut appareret, populum Romanum pro aequitate magis quam avaritia dimicare. Itaque in conventu infinitorum populorum Paulus hoc pronuntiavit et legationes multarum gentium, quae ad eum venerant, magnificentissime convivio pavit, dicens eiusdem hominis esse debere et bello vincere et in convivii apparatu elegantem esse.

VII

The consul Aemilius Paulus came to a battle with Perseus on the 3rd of September, and defeated him, killing twenty thousand of his infantry; the cavalry which remained with the king was unbroken; on the side of the Romans only a hundred men were missing. All the cities of Macedonia, that

Perseus had under his sway, submitted to the Romans. The king himself, deserted by his friends, fell into the hands of Paulus; but Paulus treated him with respect, and not as a vanquished enemy, for, when he desired to prostrate himself at his feet, he would not permit him, but placed him in a seat by his side. The terms granted to the Macedonians and Illyrians were these, "that they might remain free, on paying half the tribute which they had been accustomed to pay to their kings;" that it might be seen that the Roman people contended with a view to equity and not to covetousness: and these terms Paulus proclaimed in an assembly of a vast concourse of people, entertaining the ambassadors of several states, who had come to pay their respects to him, with a most sumptuous feast; saying that "it ought to be possible for the same individual to be victorious in war and elegant in his entertainments."

8

Mox septuaginta civitates Epiri, quae rebellabant, cepit, praedam militibus distribuit. Romam ingenti pompa rediit in navi Persei, quae inusitatae magnitudinis fuisse traditur, adeo ut sedecim ordines dicatur habuisse remorum. Triumphavit autem magnificentissime in curru aureo cum duobus filiis utroque latere adstantibus. Ducti sunt ante currum duo regis filii et ipse Perseus, XLV annos natus. Post eum etiam Anicius de Illyriis triumphavit. Gentius cum fratre et filiis ante currum ductus est. Ad hoc spectaculum reges multarum gentium Romam venerunt, inter alios venit etiam Attalus atque Eumenes, Asiae reges, et Prusias Bithyniae. Magno honore excepti sunt et permittente senatu dona, quae attulerant, in Capitolio posuerunt. Prusias etiam filium suum Nicomedem senatui commendavit.

VIII

Shortly after he took seventy cities of Epirus, which had resumed hostilities; the booty he distributed among his soldiers. He then returned to Rome with great display, in a vessel belonging to Perseus, which is recorded to have been of such extraordinary magnitude, that it contained sixteen banks of oars. He celebrated his triumph most magnificently in a golden car, with his two sons standing on each side of him; the two sons of Perseus, and Perseus himself, then forty-five years of age, were led in procession before the car. After Aemilius, Caius Anicius also celebrated a triumph on account of the Illyrians;

in which Gentius, with his brother and sons, were led before his car. To witness this spectacle the kings of several nations came to Rome; among others, even Attains and Eumenes, kings of Asia, and Prusias, king of Bithynia; who were entertained with great consideration, and, by permission of the senate, deposited the presents which they had brought in the Capitol. Prusias also entrusted his son Nicomedes to the senate.

9

Insequenti anno L. Memmius in Lusitania bene pugnavit. Marcellus postea consul res ibidem prosperas gessit.

IX

In the year following Lucius Memmius was successful in the war in Spain. Marcellus the consul afterwards met with success in the same country.

10

Tertium deinde bellum contra Carthaginem suscipitur, sexcentesimo et altero ab urbe condita anno, L. Manlio Censorino et M. Manilio consulibus, anno quinquagesimo primo postquam secundum Punicum transactum erat. Hi profecti Carthaginem oppugnaverunt. Contra eos Hasdrubal, dux Carthaginiensium, dimicabat. Famea, dux alius, equitatu Carthaginiensium praeerat. Scipio tunc, Scipionis Africani nepos, tribunus ibi militabat. Huius apud omnes ingens metus et reverentia erat. Nam et paratissimus ad dimicandum et consultissimus habebatur. Itaque per eum multa a consulibus prospere gesta sunt, neque quicquam magis vel Hasdrubal vel Famea vitabant, quam contra eam Romanorum partem committere, ubi Scipio dimicaret.

X

A third war was then undertaken against Carthage, in the six hundred and second 17 year from the building of the city, in the consulship of Lucius Manlius Censorinus and Marcus Manilius, and in the fifty-first year after the termination of the second Punic war. The consuls in consequence proceeded to attack Carthage. Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, engaged them; Phamea, another general, had the command of the Carthaginian cavalry. At that time, Scipio, the grandson of Scipio Africanus, served in the army in the

capacity of tribune, for whom great fear and respect was felt by all; for he was regarded as eminently brave and skilful in the field. Many enterprises were accordingly conducted with success by his agency; nor did Hasdrubal or Phamea shrink from anything more than engaging with that part of the army in which Scipio commanded.

11

Per idem tempus Masinissa, rex Numidarum, per annos sexaginta fere amicus populi Romani, anno vitae nonagesimo septimo mortuus quadraginta quattuor filiis relictis Scipionem divisorem regni inter filios suos esse iussit.

XI

About the same time, Masinissa, king of Numidia, who had been an ally of the Roman people for nearly sixty years, died in the ninety-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him forty-four sons. He appointed Scipio to divide his kingdom amongst his sons

12

Cum igitur clarum Scipionis nomen esset, iuvenis adhuc consul est factus et contra Carthaginem missus. Is eam cepit ac diruit. Spolia ibi inventa, quae variarum civitatum excidiis Carthago collegerat, et ornamenta urbium civitatibus Siciliae, Italiae, Africae reddidit, quae sua recognoscebant. Ita Carthago septingentesimo anno, quam condita erat, deleta est. Scipio nomen, quod avus eius acceperat, meruit, scilicet ut propter virtutem etiam ipse Africanus iunior vocaretur.

XII

As the name of Scipio had already become famous, he was created consul, although but a young man, and sent against Carthage. He took it and demolished it: the spoils found there, which had been amassed by Carthage from the ruins of various cities, and the ornaments of towns, he restored to such cities of Sicily, Italy, and Africa, as recognized their own. Thus Carthage, in the seven hundredth year after its foundation, was destroyed. Scipio earned the same title which his grandfather had gained, being, on account of his valour, called Africanus Junior.

Interim in Macedonia quidam Pseudophilippus arma movit et Romanum praetorem P. Iuventium contra se missum ad internicionem vicit. Post eum Q. Caecilius Metellus dux a Romanis contra Pseudophilippum missus est et XXV milibus eius occisis Macedoniam recepit, ipsum etiam Pseudophilippum in potestatem suam redegit.

XIII

In the meantime a certain Pseudo-Philip took up arms in Macedonia, and defeated Publius Juvencius, a Roman praetor, who had been sent out against him, with a terrible slaughter. After him Quintus Caecilius Metellus was sent by the Romans as general against this pretended Philip, and, having slain twenty-five thousand of his soldiers, recovered Macedonia, and took the impostor himself prisoner,

Corinthiis quoque bellum indictum est, nobilissimae Graeciae civitati, propter iniuriam legatorum Romanorum. Hanc Mummius consul cepit et diruit. Tres igitur Romae simul celeberrimi triumphi fuerunt: Africani ex Africa, ante cuius currum ductus est Hasdrubal, Metelli ex Macedonia, cuius currum praecessit Andriscus, idem qui et Pseudophilippus, Mummii ex Corintho, ante quem signa aenea et pictae tabulae et alia urbis clarissimae ornamenta praelata sunt.

XIV

War was also declared against Corinth, the noblest city of Greece, on account of an affront offered to a Roman embassy. That city Mummius the consul took and demolished. Three most remarkable triumphs therefore were celebrated at Rome at the same time, that of Scipio for Africa, before whose chariot Hasdrubal was led; that of Metellus for Macedonia, before whose chariot walked Andriscus, also called Pseudo-Philip; and that of Mummius for Corinth, before whom brazen statues, pictures, and other ornaments of that celebrated city, were carried.

Iterum in Macedonia Pseudoperses, qui se Persei filium esse dicebat, collectis servitiis rebellavit et, cum sedecim milia armatorum haberet, a Tremellio quaestore superatus est.

XV

In Macedonia, meanwhile, a Pseudo-Perseus, who called himself the son of Perseus, collecting the slaves, took up arms, and, when he was at the head of a force of seventeen thousand fighting men, was defeated by Tremellius the quaestor. [At this time a hermaphrodite was discovered at Rome, and drowned in the sea by order of the soothsayers.]

16

Eodem tempore Metellus in Celtiberia apud Hispanos res egregias gessit. Successit ei Q. Pompeius. Nec multo post Q. quoque Caepio ad idem bellum missus est, quod quidam Viriathus contra Romanos in Lusitania gerebat. Quo metu Viriathus a suis interfectus est, cum quattuordecim annis Hispanias adversus Romanos movisset. Pastor primo fuit, mox latronum dux, postremo tantos ad bellum populos concitavit, ut adsertor contra Romanos Hispaniae putaretur. Et cum interfectores eius praemium a Caepione consule peterent, responsum est numquam Romanis placuisse imperatores a suis militibus interfici.

XVI

About the same time Metellus had singular success against the Spaniards in Celtiberia. Quintus Pompeius succeeded him. Not long after Quintus Caepio was also sent to the same war, which a leader named Viriathus was still keeping up against the Romans in Lusitania; through fear of whom Viriathus was killed by his own men. after he had kept Spain in a state of excitement against the Romans for fourteen years. He was at first a shepherd, then captain of a band of robbers, and at last he stirred up so many powerful nations to war, that he was considered as the protector of Spain against the Romans. When his assassins asked a reward of the consul Caepio, they received for answer, that “it was never pleasing to the Romans, that a general should be killed by his own soldiers.”

Q. Pompeius deinde consul, a Numantinis, quae Hispaniae civitas fuit opulentissima, superatus, pacem ignobilem fecit. Post eum C. Hostilius Mancinus consul iterum cum Numantinis pacem fecit infamem, quam populus et senatus iussit infringi atque ipsum Mancinum hostibus tradi, ut in illo, quem auctorem foederis habebant, iniuriam soluti foederis vindicarent. Post tantam igitur ignominiam, qua a Numantinis bis Romani exercitus fuerant subiugati, P. Scipio Africanus secundo consul factus et ad Numantiam missus est. Is primum militem vitiosum et ignavum exercendo magis quam puniendo sine aliqua acerbitate correxit, tum multas Hispaniae civitates partim cepit, partim in deditionem accepit, postremo ipsam Numantiam diu obsessam fame confecit et a solo evertit, reliquam provinciam in fidem accepit.

XVII

The consul Quintus Pompeius being afterwards defeated by the Numantines, the most powerful nation of Spain, made an ignominious peace with them. After him. the consul Caius Hostilius Mancinus again concluded a dishonourable peace with the Numantines, which the people and senate ordered to be annulled, and Mancinus himself to be given up to the enemy, that they might avenge themselves for the dissolution of the treaty on him with whom they had made it. After such signal disgrace, therefore, with which the Roman armies had been twice defeated by the Numantines, Publius Scipio Africanus was made consul a second time, and sent to Numantia. He reformed, in the first place, the dissolute and idle soldiery, rather by inuring them to labour than by punishment, and without any great severity. He then took several cities of Spain, some by force, and allowing others to surrender. At last he reduced Numantia itself by famine, after it had been long besieged, and razed it to the ground, and received the rest of the province into alliance.

18

Eodem tempore Attalus, rex Asiae, frater Eumenis, mortuus est heredemque populum Romanum reliquit. Ita imperio Romano per testamentum Asia accessit.

XVIII

About this time Attalus, king of Asia, the brother of Eumenes, died, and left

the Roman people his heir. Thus Asia was added to the Roman empire by will.

19

Mox etiam D. Iunius Brutus de Callaecis et Lusitanis magna gloria triumphavit et P. Scipio Africanus de Numantinis secundum triumphum egit quarto decimo anno postquam priorem de Africa egerat.

XIX

Shortly after, also, Decimus Junius Brutus triumphed with great glory over the Gallaecians and Lusitanians; and Publius Scipio Africanus had a second triumph over the Numantines. in the fourteenth year after his first triumph for his exploits in Africa.

20

Motum interim in Asia bellum est ab Aristonico, Eumenis filio, qui ex concubina susceptus fuerat. Hic Eumenes frater Attali fuerat. Adversus eum missus P. Licinius Crassus infinita regum habuit auxilia. Nam et Bithyniae rex Nicomedes Romanos iuvit et Mithridates Ponticus, cum quo bellum postea gravissimum fuit, et Ariarathes Cappadox et Pylaemenes Paphlagon. Victus est tamen Crassus et in proelio interfectus est. Caput ipsius Aristonico oblatum est, corpus Smyrnae sepultum. Postea Perperna, consul Romanus, qui successor Crasso veniebat, audita belli fortuna ad Asiam celeravit et acie victum Aristonicum apud Stratonicen civitatem, quo confugerat, fame ad deditionem compulit. Aristonicus iussu senatus Romae in carcere strangulatus est. Triumphari enim de eo non poterat, quia Perperna apud Pergamum Romam rediens diem obierat.

XX

A war in the meantime was kindled in Asia by Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes by a concubine: this Eumenes was the brother of Attalus. Against him was sent out Publius Licinius Crassus, who had ample assistance from several kings, for not only Nicomedes, the king of Bithynia, supported the Romans, but also Mithridates king of Pontus, with whom they had afterwards a very great war, as well as Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and Pylaemenes

of Paphlagonia. Crassus notwithstanding was defeated, and killed in battle; his head was carried to Aristonicus, and his body buried at Smyrna. Soon after Perperna, the Roman consul, who was appointed successor to Crassus, hearing of the event of the war, hastened to Asia; and defeating Aristonicus in battle, near the city Stratonice to which he had fled, reduced him by famine to surrender. Aristonicus, by command of the senate, was strangled in prison at Rome; for a triumph could not be celebrated on his account, because Perperna had died at Pergamus on his return.

21

L. Caecilio Metello et T. Quintio Flaminio consulibus Carthago in Africa iussu senatus reparata est, quae nunc manet, annis duobus et viginti postquam a Scipione fuerat eversa. Deducti eo sunt cives Romani.

XXI

In the consulate of Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Titus Quintius Flamininus, Carthage in Africa, which still exists, was rebuilt by order of the senate, two and twenty years after it had been destroyed by Scipio. A colony of Roman citizens was sent out thither.

22

Anno sexcentesimo vicesimo septimo ab urbe condita C. Cassius Longinus et Sex. Domitius Calvinus consules Gallis transalpinis bellum intulerunt et Arvernorum tunc nobilissimae civitati atque eorum duci Bituito infinitamque multitudinem iuxta Rhodanum fluvium interfecerunt. Praeda ex torquibus Gallorum ingens Romam perlata est. Bituitus se Domitio dedit atque ab eo Romam deductus est, magnaue gloria consules ambo triumphaverunt.

XXII

In the six hundred and twenty-seventh year from the founding of the city, Caius Cassius Longinus and Sextus Domitius Calvinus, the consuls, made war upon the Trans alpine Gauls, and the city of the Arverni, at that time very distinguished, and their king, Bituitus; and slew a vast number of men near the river Rhone. A great booty, consisting of the golden collars of the Gauls, was brought to Rome. Bituitus surrendered himself to Domitius, and was

conveyed by him to Rome; and both consuls triumphed with great glory.

23

M. Porcio Catone et Q. Marcio Rege consulibus, sexcentesimo tricesimo et tertio anno ab urbe condita Narbone in Gallia colonia deducta est annoque post a L. Caecilio Metello et Q. Mucio Scaevola consulibus de Dalmatia triumphatum est.

XXIII

In the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato and Quintus Marcius Rex, in the six hundred and thirty-third year from the building of the city, a colony was led out to Narbonne in Gaul. Afterwards a triumph was obtained over Dalmatia by the consuls Lucius Metellus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola.

24

Ab urbe condita anno sexcentesimo tricesimo quinto C. Cato consul Scordiscis intulit bellum ignominioseque pugnavit.

XXIV

In the six hundred and thirty-fifth year from the building of the city, the consul Caius Cato made war upon the Scordisci, and fought with them to his dishonour.

25

C. Caecilio Metello et Cn. Carbone consulibus duo Metelli fratres eodem die, alterum ex Sardinia, alterum ex Thracia, triumphum egerunt, nuntiatumque Romae est Cimbros e Gallia in Italiam transisse.

XXV

When Caius Caecilius Metellus and Cnaeus Carbo were consuls, the Metelli, two brothers, had triumphs on the same day, one for Sardinia, the other for Thrace; and news was brought to Rome, that the Cimbri had crossed from Gaul into Italy.

26

P. Scipione Nasica et L. Calpurnio Bestia consulibus Iugurthae, Numidarum regi, bellum inlatum est, quod Adherbalem et Hiempsalem, Micipsae filios, fratres suos, reges et populi Romani amicos, interemisset. Missus adversus eum consul Calpurnius Bestia, corruptus regis pecunia, pacem cum eo flagitiosissimam fecit, quae a senatu improbata est. Postea contra eundem insequenti anno Sp. Postumius Albinus profectus est. Is quoque per fratrem ignominiose contra Numidas pugnavit.

XXVI

In the consulship of Publius Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, war was made upon Jugurtha, king of Numidia, because he had murdered Adherbal and Hiempsal, the sons of Micipsa, his cousins, princes, and allies of the Roman people. The consul Calpurnius Bestia being sent against him, was corrupted by the king's money, and concluded a most ignominious treaty of peace with him, which was afterwards repudiated by the senate. Spurius Albinus Postumius proceeded against him in the following year: he also, through the agency of his brother, fought against the Numidians to his disgrace.

27

Tertio missus est Q. Caecilius Metellus consul. Is exercitum a prioribus ducibus corruptum ingenti severitate et moderatione correctum, cum nihil in quemquam cruentum faceret, ad disciplinam Romanam reduxit. Iugurtham variis proeliis vicit, elephantos eius occidit vel cepit, multas civitates ipsius in deditionem cepit. Et cum iam finem bello positurus esset, successum est ei a C. Mario. Is Iugurtham et Bocchum, Mauritaniae regem, qui auxilium Iugurthae ferre coeperat, pariter superavit. Aliquanta et ipse oppida Numidiae cepit belloque terminum posuit capto Iugurtha per quaestorem suum Cornelium Sullam, ingentem virum, tradente Boccho Iugurtham qui pro eo ante pugnaverat. A M. Iunio Silano, collega Q. Metelli, Cimbri in Gallia victi sunt, et a Minucio Rufo in Macedonia Scordisci et Triballi, et a Servilio Caepione in Hispania Lusitani subacti. Acti sunt et duo triumphi de Iugurtha, primus per Metellum, secundus per Marium. Ante currum tamen Marii Iugurtha cum duobus filiis ductus est catenatus et mox iussu consulis in carcere strangulatus est.

In the third place, the consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus being sent out against him, brought back the army, which he reformed with great severity and judgment, without exercising cruelty on any one, to the ancient Roman discipline. He defeated Jugurtha in various battles, killed or captured his elephants, and obliged many of his towns to surrender; and, when on the point of putting an end to the war, was succeeded by Caius Marius. Marius overthrew both Jugurtha and Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, who had undertaken to afford assistance to Jugurtha; he also took several towns in Numidia, and put an end to the war, having, through the instrumentality of his quaestor Cornelius Sulla, a distinguished man, taken Jugurtha prisoner, whom Bocchus, who had before fought for him, betrayed.

In Gaul, the Cimbri were defeated by Marcus Junius Silanus, the colleague of Quintus Metellus, the Scordisci and Triballi in Macedonia by Minutius Rufus, and the Lusitani in Spain by Servilius Caepio; and two triumphs were celebrated on account of Jugurtha; the first by Metellus, the second by Marius. It was before the chariot of Marius, however, that Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led in chains; and he was soon after, by order of the consul, strangled in prison.

BOOK V

The war with the Cimbri, Teutones, and their allies, I. II. — The Social war, III. — The Civil war between Marius and Sulla, IV. — The Mithridatic war; the Thracian; continuation and conclusion of the Civil war, V. — IX.

1

Dum bellum in Numidia contra Iugurtham geritur, Romani consules M. Manlius et Q. Caepio a Cimbris et Teutonis et Tugurinis et Ambronibus, quae erant Germanorum et Gallorum gentes, victi sunt iuxta flumen Rhodanum et ingenti internicione; etiam castra sua et magnam partem exercitus perdiderunt. Timor Romae grandis fuit, quantus vix Hannibalis tempore Punicis bellis, ne iterum Galli Romam venirent. Ergo Marius post victoriam Iugurthinam secundo consul est factus bellumque ei contra Cimbros et Teutones decretum est. Tertio quoque ei et quarto delatus est consulatus, quia bellum Cimbricum protrahebatur. Sed in quarto consulatu collegam habuit Q. Lutatium Catulum. Cum Cimbris itaque confluxit et duobus proeliis CC milia hostium cecidit, LXXX milia cepit et ducem eorum Teutobodum, propter quod meritum absens quinto consul est factus.

I

While the war was going on in Numidia against Jugurtha, the Roman consuls, Marcus Manlius and Quintus Caepio, were defeated by the Cimbri, Teutones, Tigurini, and Ambrones, nations of Germany and Gaul, near the river Rhone; and, being reduced by a terrible slaughter, lost their very camp, as well as the greater part of their army. Great was the consternation at Rome, such as was scarcely experienced during the Punic wars in the time of Hannibal, from dread that the Gauls might again march to the city. Marius, in consequence, after his victory over Jugurtha, was created consul the second time, and the war against the Cimbri and Teutones was committed to his management. The consulship was also conferred on him a third and fourth time, in consequence of the war with the Cimbri being protracted; but in his fourth consulship he had for his colleague Quintus Lutatius Catulus. He came to battle, accordingly, with the Cimbri, and in two engagements killed two hundred thousand of the enemy, and took eighty thousand prisoners, with their general Teutobodus; for which service he was elected consul a fifth time during his

absence.

2

Interea Cimbri et Teutones, quorum copia adhuc infinita erat, ad Italiam transierunt. Iterum a C. Mario et Q. Catulo contra eos dimicatum est, sed a Catuli parte felicius. Nam proelio, quod simul ambo gesserunt, CXL milia aut in pugna aut in fuga caesa sunt, LX milia capta. Romani milites ex utroque exercitu trecenti perierunt. Tria et triginta Cimbris signa sublata sunt; ex his exercitus Marii duo reportavit, Catuli exercitus XXXI. Is belli finis fuit; triumphus utrique decretus est.

II

In the meantime the Cimbri and Teutones, whose force was still innumerable, passed over into Italy. Another battle was fought with them, by Caius Marius and Quintus Catulus, though with greater success on the part of Catulus, for in that battle, in which they both commanded, a hundred and forty thousand were either slain in the field or in the pursuit, and sixty thousand taken prisoners. Of the Roman soldiers in the two armies three hundred fell. Thirty-three standards were taken from the Cimbri; of which the army of Marius captured two, that of Catulus thirty-one. This was the end of the war: a triumph was decreed to both the consuls.

3

Sex. Iulio Caesare et L. Marcio Philippo consulibus, sexcentesimo quinquagesimo nono anno ab urbe condita, cum prope alia omnia bella cessarent, in Italia gravissimum bellum Picentes, Marsi Pelignique moverunt, qui, cum annis numerosis iam populo Romano obedirent, tum libertatem sibi aequam adserere coeperunt. Perniciosum admodum hoc bellum fuit. P. Rutilius consul in eo occisus est, Caepio, nobilis iuvenis, Porcius Cato, alius consul. Duces autem adversus Romanos Picentibus et Marsis fuerunt T. Vettius, Hierius Asinius, T. Herennius, A. Cluentius. A Romanis bene contra eos pugnatum est a C. Mario, qui sexies consul fuerat, et a Cn. Pompeio, maxime tamen a L. Cornelio Sulla, qui inter alia egregia ita Cluentium, hostium ducem, cum magnis copiis fudit, ut ex suis unum amitteret. Quadriennio cum gravi tamen calamitate hoc bellum tractum est. Quinto

demum anno finem accepit per L. Cornelium Sullam consulem, cum antea in eodem bello ipse multa strenue, sed praetor, egisset.

III

In the consulship of Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Marcius Philippus, in the six hundred and fifty-ninth year from the building of the city, when almost all other wars were at an end, the Piceni, Marsi, and Peligni, excited a most dangerous war in Italy; for after they had lived for many years in subjection to the Roman people, they now began to assert their claim to equal privileges. This was a very destructive war. Publius Rutilius, one of the consuls, Caepio, a nobleman in the flower of his age, and Porcius Cato, another consul, were killed in it. The generals against the Romans on the part of the Piceni and Marsi were Titus Vettius, Hierius Asinius, Titus Herennius, and Aulus Cluentius. The Romans fought against them successfully under the conduct of Caius Marius, who had now been made consul for the sixth time, also under Cnaeus Pompey, but particularly under Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who, among other signal exploits, so completely routed Cluentius, one of the enemy's generals, with his numerous forces, that he lost only one man of his own army. The war, however, was protracted for four years, with great havoc; at length, in the fifth, it was terminated by Lucius Cornelius Sulla when consul, who had greatly distinguished himself on many occasions when praetor in the same war.

4

Anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo sexagesimo secundo primum Romae bellum civile commotum est, eodem anno etiam Mithridaticum. Causam bello civili C. Marius sexiens consul dedit. Nam cum Sulla consul contra Mithridatem gesturus bellum, qui Asiam et Achaïam occupaverat, mitteretur, isque exercitum in Campania paulisper teneret, ut belli socialis, de quo diximus, quod intra Italiam gestum fuerat, reliquiae tollerentur, Marius adfectavit, ut ipse ad bellum Mithridaticum mitteretur. Qua re Sulla commotus cum exercitu ad urbem venit. Illic contra Marium et Sulpicium dimicavit. Primus urbem Romam armatus ingressus est, Sulpicium interfecit, Marium fugavit, atque ita ordinatis consulibus in futurum annum Cn. Octavio et L. Cornelio Cinna ad Asiam profectus est.

In the six hundred and sixty-second year from the foundation of the city, the first civil war began at Rome; and in the same year also the Mithridatic war. Marius, when in his sixth consulship, gave rise to the Civil war; for when Sulla, the consul, was sent to conduct the war against Mithridates, who had possessed himself of Asia and Achaia, and delayed his army for a short time in Campania, in order that the remains of the Social war, of which we have just spoken, and which had been carried on within the limits of Italy, might be extinguished, Marius showed himself ambitious to be appointed to the Mithridatic war. Sulla, being incensed at this conduct, marched to Rome with his army. There he fought with Marius and Sulpicius; he was the first to enter the city in arms; Sulpicius he killed; Marius he put to flight; and then, having appointed Cnaeus Octavius and Lucius Cornelius Cinna the consuls for the year ensuing, set out for Asia.

Mithridates enim, qui Ponti rex erat atque Armeniam minorem et totum Ponticum mare in circuitu cum Bosphoro tenebat, primum Nicomedem, amicum populi Romani, Bithynia voluit expellere senatuique mandavit bellum se ei propter iniurias, quas passus fuerat, inlaturum. A senatu responsum Mithridati est, si id faceret, quod bellum a Romanis et ipse pateretur. Quare iratus Cappadociam statim occupavit et ex ea Ariobarzanen, regem et amicum populi Romani, fugavit. Mox etiam Bithyniam invasit et Paphlagoniam pulsus ex ea regibus, amicis populi Romani, Pylaemene et Nicomede. Inde Ephesum contendit et per omnem Asiam litteras misit, ut ubicumque inventi essent cives Romani, uno die occiderentur.

For Mithridates, who was king of Pontus, and possessed Armenia Minor and the entire circuit of the Pontic sea with the Bosphorus, first attempted to expel Nicomedes, an ally of the Romans, from Bithynia; sending word to the senate, that he was going to make war upon him on account of the injuries which he had received. Answer was returned by the senate to Mithridates, that if he did so he himself should feel the weight of a war from the Romans. Incensed at

this reply, he immediately invaded Cappadocia, and expelled from thence Ariobarzanes the king, an ally of the Roman people. He next marched into Bithynia and Paphlagonia, driving out the kings, Pylaemenes and Nicomedes, who were also in alliance with the Romans. He then hastened to Ephesus, and sent letters into all parts of Asia, with directions that wherever any Roman citizens should be found, they should all be put to death the same day.

6

Interea etiam Athenae, civitas Achaiae, ab Aristone Atheniensi Mithridati tradita est. Miserat eum iam ad Achaiam Mithridates Archelaum, ducem suum, cum centum et viginti milibus equitum ac peditum, per quem etiam reliqua Graecia occupata est. Sulla Archelaum apud Piraeum, non longe ab Athenis, obsedit, ipsas Athenas cepit. Postea commisso proelio contra Archelaum ita eum vicit, ut ex CXX milibus vix decem Archelao superessent, ex Sullae exercitu XIII tantum homines interficerentur. Hac pugna Mithridates cognita septuaginta milia lectissima ex Asia Archelao misit, contra quem iterum Sulla commisit. Primo proelio quindecim milia hostium interfecta sunt et filius Archelai Diogenes; secundo omnes Mithridatis copiae extinctae sunt, Archelaus ipse triduo nudus in paludibus latuit. Hac re audita Mithridates iussit cum Sulla de pace agi.

VI

In the meantime Athens also, a city of Achaia, was delivered up to Mithridates by Aristion an Athenian. For Mithridates had previously sent Archelaus, his general, into Achaia, with a hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot, by whom the rest of Greece was also occupied. Sulla besieged Archelaus at the Piraeus near Athens, and took the city itself. Engaging afterwards in battle with Archelaus, he gave him such a defeat, that out of a hundred and twenty thousand of the army of Archelaus scarce ten remained; while of that of Sulla only fourteen were killed. Mithridates, on receiving intelligence of this battle, sent seventy thousand chosen troops out of Asia to Archelaus, with whom Sulla came again to an engagement. In the first battle twenty thousand of the enemy were slain, and Diogenes, the son of Archelaus; in the second the entire forces of Mithridates were cut off. Archelaus himself lay hid for three days, stript of his armour, in the marshes. On the news of this

state of things, Mithridates sent orders to treat with Sulla concerning peace.

Interim eo tempore Sulla etiam Dardanos, Scordiscos, Dalmatas et Maedos partim vicit, alios in fidem accepit. Sed cum legati a rege Mithridate, qui pacem petebant, venissent, non aliter se daturum Sulla esse respondit, nisi rex relictis his, quae occupaverat, ad regnum suum redisset. Postea tamen ad colloquium ambo venerunt. Pax inter eos ordinata est, ut Sulla ad bellum civile festinans a tergo periculum non haberet. Nam dum Sulla in Achaia atque Asia Mithridatem vincit, Marius, qui fugatus erat, et Cornelius Cinna, unus ex consulibus, bellum in Italia reparaverunt et ingressi urbem Romam nobilissimos e senatu et consulares viros interfecerunt, multos proscripserunt, ipsius Sullae domo eversa filios et uxorem ad fugam compulerunt. Universus reliquus senatus ex urbe fugiens ad Sullam in Graeciam venit, orans, ut patriae subveniret. Ille in Italiam traiecit, bellum civile gesturus adversus Norbanum et Scipionem consules. Et primo proelio contra Norbanum dimicavit non longe a Capua. Tum sex milia eius cecidit, sex milia cepit, CXXIV suos amisit. Inde etiam ad Scipionem se convertit et ante proelium totum eius exercitum sine sanguine in deditionem accepit.

VII

In the meantime Sulla also reduced part of the Dardanians, Scordisci, Dalmatians, and Maedians, and granted terms of alliance to the rest. But when ambassadors arrived from King Mithridates to treat about peace, Sulla replied that he would grant it on no other condition than that he should quit the countries on which he had seized, and withdraw into his own dominions. Afterwards, however, the two came to a conference, and peace was settled between them, in order that Sulla, who was in haste to proceed to the Civil war, might leave no danger in his rear; for while Sulla was victorious over Mithridates in Achaia and Asia, Marius, who had been driven from the city, and Cornelius Cinna, one of the consuls, had recommenced hostilities in Italy, and entering Rome, put to death the noblest of the senators and others of consular rank, proscribed many, and pulling down the house of Sulla himself, forced his sons and wife to seek safety by flight; while all the rest of the senate, hastily quitting the city, fled to Sulla in Greece, entreating him to come

to the support of his country. He accordingly crossed over into Italy, to conduct the Civil war against the consuls Norbanus and Scipio. In the first battle he engaged with Norbanus not far from Capua, when he killed seven thousand of his men, and took six thousand prisoners, losing only a hundred and twenty-four of his own army. From thence he directed his efforts against Scipio, and before a battle was fought, or any blood shed, he received the surrender of his whole army.

8

Sed, cum Romae mutati consules essent, Marius, Marii filius, ac Papirius Carbo consulatum accepissent, Sulla contra Marium iuniorem dimicavit et XV milibus eius occisis CCCC de suis perdidit. Mox etiam urbem ingressus est. Marium, Marii filium, Praeneste persecutus obsedit et ad mortem compulit. Rursus pugnam gravissimam habuit contra Lamponium et Carinatem, duces partis Marianae, ad portam Collinam. LXX milia hostium in eo proelio contra Sullam fuisse dicuntur. XII milia se Sullae dederunt, ceteri in acie, in castris, in fuga insatiabili ira victorum consumpti sunt. Cn. quoque Carbo, consul alter, ab Arimino ad Siciliam fugit et ibi per Cn. Pompeium interfectus est, quem adulescentem Sulla atque annos unum et viginti natum cognita eius industria exercitibus praefecerat, ut secundus a Sulla haberetur.

VIII

But on a change of consuls at Rome, and the election of Marius, the son of Marius, and Papirius Carbo to the consulate, Sulla again came to battle with Marius the younger, and killed fifteen thousand men, with the loss of only four hundred. Immediately afterwards also he entered the city. He then pursued Marius, the younger, to Praeneste, besieged him there, and drove him even to self-destruction. He afterwards fought a terrible battle with Lamponius and Carinas, the leaders of the Marian faction, near the Colline gate. The number of the enemy in that battle against Sulla is said to have been seventy thousand; twelve thousand surrendered themselves to Sulla: the rest were cut off in the field, in the camp, or in the pursuit, by the insatiable resentment of the conqueror. Cnaeus Carbo also, the other consul, fled from Ariminum into Sicily, and was there slain by Cnaeus Pompey; to whom, although but a young man, being only one-and-twenty years of age, Sulla,

perceiving his activity, had committed the management of his troops, so that he was accounted second only to Sulla himself.

Occiso ergo Carbone Siciliam Pompeius recepit. Transgressus inde ad Africam, Domitium, Marianae partis ducem, et Hiardam, regem Mauritaniae, qui Domitio auxilium ferebat, occidit. Post haec Sulla de Mithridate ingenti gloria triumphavit. Cn. etiam Pompeius, quod nulli Romanorum tributum erat, quartum et vicesimum annum agens de Africa triumphavit. Hunc finem habuerunt duo bella funestissima, Italicum, quod et sociale dictum est, et civile, quae ambo tracta sunt per annos decem. Consumpserunt autem ultra CL milia hominum, viros consulares XXIV, praetorios VII, aedilicios LX, senatores fere CC.

IX

Carbo, then, being killed, Pompey recovered Sicily. Crossing next over into Africa, he put to death Domitius, a leader on the side of Marius, and Hiarbas the king of Mauritania, who had given assistance to Domitius. After these events, Sulla celebrated a triumph with great pomp for his success against Mithridates. Cnaeus Pompey also, while only in his twenty-fourth year, was allowed a triumph for his victories in Africa, a privilege which had been granted to no Roman before him. Such was the termination of two most lamentable wars, the Italian, also called the Social, and the Civil, which lasted for ten years, and occasioned the destruction of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men; twenty-four of consular rank, seven of praetorian, sixty of that of aedile, and nearly three hundred senators.

BOOK VI

War with Sertorius in Spain; wars in Macedonia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Dalmatia, I. — IV — -Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Romans his heirs; continuation of the war with Mithridates; wars with the slaves, pirates, and Macedonians, V. — XII. — Acts of Pompey against Tigranes, and in other parts of Asia, XIII. XIV. — Conspiracy of Catiline, XV. — Triumphs of Pompey and Metellus, XVI. — Wars of Caesar in Gaul, XVII. — Proceedings of Crassus in Parthia, XVIII. — Civil war between Caesar and Pompey, XIX. — XXV.

I

M. Aemilio Lepido Q. Catulo consulibus, cum Sulla rem publicam composuisset, bella nova exarserunt, unum in Hispania, aliud in Pamphylia et Cilicia, tertium in Macedonia, quartum in Dalmatia. Nam Sertorius, qui partium Marianarum fuerat, timens fortunam ceterorum, qui interempti erant, ad bellum commovit Hispanias. Missi sunt contra eum duces Q. Caecilius Metellus, filius eius, qui Iugurtham regem vicit, et L. Domitius praetor. A Sertorii duce Hirtuleio Domitius occisus est. Metellus vario successu contra Sertorium dimicavit. Postea, cum inpar pugnae solus Metellus putaretur, Cn. Pompeius ad Hispanias missus est. Ita duobus ducibus adversis Sertorius fortuna varia saepe pugnavit. Octavo demum anno per suos occisus est, et finis ei bello datus per Cn. Pompeium adolescentem et Q. Metellum Pium atque omnes prope Hispaniae in dicionem populi Romani redactae.

I

In the consulate of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Quintus Catulus, after Sulla had composed the troubles of the state, new wars broke out; one in Spain, another in Pamphylia and Cilicia, a third in Macedonia, a fourth in Dalmatia. Sertorius, who had taken the side of Marius, dreading the fate of others who had been cut off, excited the Spaniards to a war. The generals sent against him were Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the son of that Metellus who had subdued Jugurtha, and the praetor Lucius Domitius. Domitius was killed by Hirtuleius, Sertorius's general. Metellus contended against Sertorius with various success. At length, as Metellus was thought singly unequal to the war, Cnaeus Pompey was sent into Spain. Thus, two generals being opposed to him, Sertorius often fought with very uncertain fortune. At last, in the eighth year of the war, he was put to death by his own soldiers, and an end made of the

war by Cnaeus Pompey, at that time but a young man, and Quintus Metellus Pius; and nearly the whole of Spain was brought under the dominion of the Roman people.

2

Ad Macedoniam missus est Ap. Claudius post consulatum. Levia proelia habuit contra varias gentes, quae Rhodopam provinciam incolebant, atque ibi morbo mortuus est. Missus ei successor C. Scribonius Curio post consulatum. Is Dardanos vicit et usque ad Danubium penetravit triumphumque meruit et intra triennium bello finem dedit.

II

Appius Claudius, on the expiration of his consulate was sent into Macedonia. He had some skirmishes with different tribes that inhabited the province of Rhodopa, and there fell ill and died. Cnaeus Scribonius Curio, on the termination of his consulship, was sent to succeed him. He conquered the Dardanians, penetrated as far as the Danube, and obtained the honour of a triumph, putting an end to the war within three years.

3

Ad Ciliciam et Pamphyliam missus est P. Servilius ex consule, vir strenuus. Is Ciliciam subegit, Lyciae urbes clarissimas oppugnavit et cepit, in his Phaselida, Olympum, Corycum Ciliciae. Isauros quoque adgressus in dicionem redegit atque intra triennium bello finem dedit. Primus omnium Romanorum in Tauro iter fecit. Revertens triumphum accepit et nomen Isaurici meruit.

III

Publius Servilius, an energetic man, was sent, after his consulate, into Cilicia and Pamphilia. He reduced Cilicia, besieged and took the most eminent cities of Lycia, amongst them Phaselis, Olympus, and Corycus. The Isauri he also attacked, and compelled to surrender, and, within three years, put an end to the war. He was the first of the Romans that marched over Mount Taurus. On his return, he was granted a triumph, and acquired the surname of Isauricus.

4

Ad Illyricum missus est C. Cosconius pro consule. Multam partem Dalmatiae subegit, Salonas cepit et composito bello Romam post biennium rediit.

IV

Cnaeus Cosconius was sent into Illyricum as proconsul. He reduced a great part of Dalmatia, took Salonae, and, having made an end of the war, returned to Rome after an absence of two years.

5

Isdem temporibus consul M. Aemilius Lepidus, Catuli collega, bellum civile voluit commovere, intra unam tamen aestatem motus eius oppressus est. Ita uno tempore multi simul triumphi fuerunt, Metelli ex Hispania, Pompeii secundus ex Hispania, Curionis ex Macedonia, Servilii ex Isauria.

V

About the same time, the consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the colleague of Catulus, attempted to kindle a civil war; but in one summer that commotion was suppressed. Thus there were several triumphs at the same time, that of Metellus for Spain, a second for Spain obtained by Pompey, one of Curio for Macedonia, and one of Servilius for Isauria.

6

Anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo septuagesimo sexto, L. Licinio Lucullo et M. Aurelio Cotta consulibus mortuus est Nicomedes, rex Bithyniae, et per testamentum populum Romanum fecit heredem. Mithridates pace rupta Bithyniam et Asiam rursus voluit invadere. Adversus eum ambo consules missi variam habuere fortunam. Cotta apud Chalcedonem victus ab eo acie, etiam intra oppidum coactus est et obsessus. Sed cum se inde Mithridates Cyzicum transtulisset, ut Cyzico capta totam Asiam invaderet, Lucullus ei, alter consul, occurrit. Ac dum Mithridates in obsidione Cyzici commoratur, ipse eum a tergo obsedit fameque consumpsit et multis proeliis vicit, postremo Byzantium, quae nunc Constantinopolis est, fugavit. Navali quoque proelio duces eius Lucullus oppressit. Ita una hieme et aestate a Lucullo ad centum fere milia regis extincta sunt.

In the six hundred and seventy-sixth year from the building of the city, in the consulate of Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, appointing by his will the Roman people his heir.

Mithridates, breaking the peace, again proceeded to invade Bithynia and Asia. Both the consuls being sent out against him, met with various success. Cotta, being defeated by him in a battle near Chalcedon, was even forced into the town, and besieged there. But Mithridates, having marched from thence to Cyzicus, that, after capturing that city, he might overrun all Asia, Lucullus, the other consul, met him; and, whilst Mithridates was detained at the siege of Cyzicus, besieged him in the rear, exhausted him with famine, defeated him in several battles, and at last pursued him to Byzantium, now called Constantinople. Lucullus also vanquished his commanders in a sea-fight. Thus, in a single winter and summer, almost a hundred thousand men on the king's side were cut off by Lucullus.

Anno urbis Romae sexcentesimo septuagesimo octavo Macedoniam provinciam M. Licinius Lucullus accepit, consobrinus Luculli, qui contra Mithridatem bellum gerebat. Et in Italia novum bellum subito commotum est. Septuaginta enim et quattuor gladiatores ducibus Spartaco, Crixo et Oenomao effracto Capuae ludo fugerunt. Et per Italiam vagantes paene non levius bellum in ea, quam Hannibal moverat, paraverunt. Nam multis ducibus et duobus simul Romanorum consulibus victis sexaginta fere milium armatorum exercitum congregaverunt, victique sunt in Apulia a M. Licinio Crasso pro consule, et post multas calamitates Italiae tertio anno bello huic est finis inpositus.

In the six hundred and seventy-eighth year of Rome, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, the cousin of that Lucullus who had carried on the war against Mithridates, obtained the province of Macedonia. A new war, too, suddenly sprung up in Italy; for eighty-four gladiators, led by Spartacus, Crixus, and Oenomaus, having broken out of a school at Capua, made their escape; and,

wandering over Italy, kindled a war in it, not much less serious than that which Hannibal had raised; for, after defeating several generals and two consuls of the Romans, they collected an army of nearly sixty thousand men. They were, however, defeated in Apulia by the proconsul Marcus Licinius Crassus; and, after much calamity to Italy, the war was terminated in its third year.

8

Sexcentesimo octogesimo primo anno urbis conditae, P. Cornelio Lentulo et Cn. Aufidio Oreste consulibus duo tantum gravia bella in imperio Romano erant, Mithridaticum et Macedonicum. Haec duo Luculli agebant, L. Lucullus et M. Lucullus. L. ergo Lucullus post pugnam Cyzicenam, qua vicerat Mithridatem, et navalem, qua duces eius oppresserat, persecutus est eum et recepta Paphlagonia atque Bithynia etiam regnum eius invasit, Sinopen et Amison, civitates Ponti nobilissimas, cepit. Secundo proelio apud Caberam civitatem, quo ingentes copias ex omni regno adduxerat Mithridates, cum XXX milia lectissima regis a quinque milibus Romanorum vastata essent, Mithridates fugatus est, castra eius direpta. Armenia quoque minor, quam tenuerat, eidem sublata est. Susceptus tamen est Mithridates post fugam a Tigrane, Armeniae rege, qui tum ingenti gloria imperabat, Persas saepe vicerat, Mesopotamiam occupaverat et Syriam et Phoenices partem.

VIII

In the six hundred and eighty-first year from the founding of the city, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Cnaeus Aufidius Orestes, there were but two wars of any importance throughout the Roman empire, the Mithridatic and the Macedonian. Of these the two Luculli, Lucius and Marcus, had the direction. Lucius Lucullus, after the battle at Cyzicus, in which he had conquered Mithridates, and the sea-fight, in which he had overcome his generals, pursued him; and, recovering Paphlagonia and Bithynia, invaded his very kingdom. He took Sinope and Amisus, two most eminent cities of Pontus. In a second battle, near the city Cabira, where Mithridates had assembled a vast army from all parts of his kingdom, thirty thousand of the king's chosen troops were cut in pieces by five thousand of the Romans, and Mithridates was put to flight and his camp plundered.

Armenia Minor, also, of which he had taken possession, was wrested from him. Mithridates was, however, received after his flight by Tigranes, the king of Armenia, who at that time reigned in great glory; for he had frequently defeated the Persians, and had made himself master of Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Phoenicia.

9

Ergo Lucullus repetens hostem fugatum etiam regnum Tigranis qui Armeniis imperabat ingressus est. Tigranocertam, civitatem Arzanenae, nobilissimam regni Armeniaci, cepit, ipsum regem cum septem milibus quingentis clibanariis et centum milibus sagittariorum et armatorum venientem decem et octo milia militum habens ita vicit, ut magnam partem Armeniorum deleverit. Inde Nisibin profectus eam quoque civitatem cum regis fratre cepit. Sed hi, quos in Ponto Lucullus reliquerat cum exercitus parte, ut regiones victas et iam Romanorum tuerentur, neglegenter se et avare agentes occasionem iterum Mithridati in Pontum inrumpendi dederunt, atque ita bellum renovatum est. Lucullo paranti capta Nisibi contra Persas expeditionem successor est missus.

IX

Lucullus, therefore, still pursuing his routed enemy, entered even the kingdom of Tigranes, who ruled over both the Armenias. Tigranocerta, the most noble city of Armenia, he succeeded in taking; the king himself, who advanced against him with six hundred thousand cuirassiers, and a hundred thousand archers and other troops, he so completely defeated with a force of only eighteen thousand, that he annihilated a great part of the Armenians. Marching from thence to Nisibis, he took that city also, and made the king's brother prisoner. But as those whom Lucullus had left in Pontus with part of the army in order to defend the conquered countries belonging to the Romans, grew negligent and avaricious in their conduct, they gave Mithridates an opportunity of again making an irruption into Pontus, and thus the war was renewed. While Lucullus, after the reduction of Nisibis, was preparing for an expedition against the Persians, a successor was sent out to take his place.

10

Alter autem Lucullus, qui Macedoniam administrabat, Bessis primus

Romanorum intulit bellum atque eos ingenti proelio in Haemo monte superavit. Oppidum Uscudamam, quod Bessi habitabant, eodem die, quo adgressus est, vicit, Cabylen cepit, usque ad Danubium penetravit. Inde multas supra Pontum positas civitates adgressus est. Illic Apolloniam evertit, Callatim, Parthenopolim, Tomos, Histrum, Burziaonem cepit belloque confecto Romam rediit. Ambo triumphaverunt, tamen Lucullus, qui contra Mithridatem pugnaverat, maiore gloria, cum tantorum regnorum victor redisset.

X

The other Lucullus, who had the management of affairs in Macedonia, was the first of the Romans that made war upon the Bessi, defeating them in a great battle on Mount Haemus; he reduced the town of Uscudama, which the Bessi inhabited, on the same day in which he attacked it; he also took Cabyle, and penetrated as far as the river Danube. He then besieged several cities lying above Pontus, where he destroyed Apollonia, Calatis, Parthenopolis, Tomi, Histros, and Burziaone, and, putting an end to the war, returned to Rome. Both the Luculli however triumphed, but the Lucullus, who had fought against Mithridates, with the greater glory, because he had returned victorious over such powerful nations.

11

Confecto bello Macedonico, manente Mithridatico, quod recedente Lucullo rex collectis auxiliis reparaverat, bellum Creticum ortum est. Ad id missus Q. Caecilius Metellus ingentibus proeliis intra triennium omnem provinciam cepit appellatusque est Creticus atque ex insula triumphavit. Quo tempore Libya quoque Romano imperio per testamentum Appionis, qui rex eius fuerat, accessit, in qua inclutae urbes erant Berenice, Ptolomais, Cyrene.

XI

After the Macedonian war was ended, but while that with Mithridates still continued (which, on the departure of Lucullus, that king had renewed, collecting all his forces for the purpose), the Cretan war arose, and Caecilius Metellus being sent to conduct it, secured the whole province, by a succession of great battles, within three years, and received the appellation of Creticus,

and a triumph on account of the island. About this time Libya also, by the will of Apion, the king of the country, was added to the Roman empire; in it were the celebrated cities, Berenice, Ptolemais, and Cyrene.

12

Dum haec geruntur, piratae omnia maria infestabant ita, ut Romanis toto orbe victoribus sola navigatio tuta non esset. Quare id bellum Cn. Pompeio decretum est. Quod intra paucos menses ingenti et felicitate et celeritate confecit. Mox ei delatum etiam bellum contra regem Mithridatem et Tigranem. Quo suscepto Mithridatem in Armenia minore nocturno proelio vicit, castra diripuit, quadraginta milia eius occidit, viginti tantum de exercitu suo perdidit et duos centuriones. Mithridates cum uxore fugit et duobus comitibus. Neque multo post, cum in suos saeviret, Pharnacis, filii sui, apud milites seditione ad mortem coactus venenum hausit. Hunc finem habuit Mithridates. Periit autem apud Bosporum, vir ingentis industriae consiliiue. Regnavit annis sexaginta, vixit septuaginta duobus, contra Romanos bellum habuit annis quadraginta.

XII

During these transactions, pirates infested all the seas, so that navigation, and that alone, was unsafe to the Romans, who were now victorious throughout the world. The war against these pirates, therefore, was committed to Cnaeus Pompey, who, with surprising success and celerity, finished it in the course of a few months. Soon after, the war against Mithridates and Tigranes was entrusted to him; in the conduct of which, he overcame Mithridates in Armenia Minor in a battle by night, and plundered his camp, killing at the same time forty thousand of his troops, while he lost only twenty of his own men, and two centurions. Mithridates fled with his wife and two attendants; and not long after, in consequence of his cruelty to his own family, he was reduced, through a sedition excited among his soldiers by his son Pharnaces, to the necessity of putting an end to his existence, and swallowed poison. Such was the end of Mithridates, a man of singular energy and ability; his death happened near the Bosphorus. He reigned sixty years, lived seventy-two, and maintained a war against the Romans for forty.

Tigrani deinde Pompeius bellum intulit. Ille se ei dedit et in castra Pompeii sexto decimo miliario ab Artaxata venit ac diadema suum, cum procubisset ad genua Pompeii, in manibus ipsius conlocavit. Quod ei Pompeius reposuit honorificeque eum habitum regni tamen parte multavit et grandi pecunia. Adempta est ei Syria, Phoenice, Sophanene; sex milia praeterea talentorum argenti indicta, quae populo Romano daret, quia bellum sine causa Romanis commovisset.

XIII

Pompey next made war upon Tigranes, who surrendered himself, coming to Pompey's camp at sixteen miles distance from Artaxata; and, throwing himself at his feet, placed in his hands his diadem, which Pompey returned to him, and treated him with great respect, but obliged him to give up part of his dominions and to pay a large sum of money: Syria, Phoenicia, and Sophene, were taken from him, and six thousand talents of silver, which he had to pay to the Roman people because he had raised a war against them without cause.

14

Pompeius mox etiam Albanis bellum intulit et eorum regem Oroden ter vicit, postremo per epistulas ac munera rogatus veniam ei ac pacem dedit. Hiberiae quoque regem Artacen vicit acie et in deditionem accepit. Armeniam minorem Deiotaro, Galatiae regi, donavit, quia socius belli Mithridatici fuerat. Attalo et Pylaemeni Paphlagoniam reddidit. Aristarchum Colchis regem imposuit. Mox Ituraeos et Arabas vicit. Et cum venisset in Syriam, Seleuciam, vicinam Antiochiae civitatem, libertate donavit, quod regem Tigranen non recepisset. Antiochensibus obsides reddidit. Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit, quo locus ibi spatiosior fieret, delectatus loci amoenitate et aquarum abundantia. Inde ad Iudaeam transgressus est, Hierosolyma, caput gentis, tertio mense cepit XII milibus Iudaeorum occisis, ceteris in fidem acceptis. His gestis in Asiam se recepit et finem antiquissimo bello dedit.

XIV

Pompey soon after made war also upon the Albani; and defeated their king Orodes three times; at length, being prevailed upon by letters and presents, he granted him pardon and peace. He also defeated Artoces, king of Iberia, in

battle, and reduced him to surrender. Armenia Minor he conferred upon Deiotarus, the king of Galatia, because he had acted as his ally in the Mithridatic war. To Attalus and Pylaemenes he restored Paphlagonia; and appointed Aristarchus king of the Colchians. Shortly after he subdued the Itureans and Arabians; and, on entering Syria, rewarded Seleucia, a city near Antioch, with independence, because it had not admitted King Tigranes. To the inhabitants of Antioch he restored their hostages. On those of Daphne, being charmed with the beauty of the spot and the abundance of water, he bestowed a portion of land, in order that their grove might be enlarged. Marching from thence to Judea, he took Jerusalem, the capital, in the third month; twelve thousand of the Jews being slain, and the rest allowed to surrender on terms. After these achievements, he returned into Asia, and put an end to this most tedious war.

15

M. Tullio Cicerone oratore et C. Antonio consulibus, anno ab urbe condita sexcentesimo octogesimo nono, L. Sergius Catilina, nobilissimi generis vir, sed ingenii pravissimi, ad delendam patriam coniuravit cum quibusdam claris quidem, sed audacibus viris. A Cicerone urbe expulsus est. Socii eius deprehensi in carcere strangulati sunt. Ab Antonio, altero consule, Catilina ipse victus proelio est et interfectus.

XV

In the consulate of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, and Caius Antonius, in the six hundred and eighty-ninth year from the foundation of the city, Lucius Sergius Catiline, a man of very noble family, but of a most corrupt disposition, conspired to destroy his country, in conjunction with some other eminent but desperate characters. He was expelled from the city by Cicero; his accomplices were apprehended and strangled in prison; and he himself was defeated and killed in battle by Antonius, the other consul.

16

Sexcentesimo nonagesimo anno urbis conditae D. Iunio Silano et L. Murena consulibus Metellus de Creta triumphavit, Pompeius de bello piratico et Mithridatico. Nulla umquam pompa triumphi similis fuit. Ducti sunt ante eius

currum filii Mithridatis, filius Tigranis et Aristobulus, rex Iudaeorum; praelata est ingens pecunia et auri atque argenti infinitum. Hoc tempore nullum per orbem terrarum grave bellum erat.

XVI

In the six hundred and ninetieth year from the building of the city, in the consulate of Decimus Junius Silanus and Lucius Muraena, Metellus triumphed on account of Crete, Pompey for the Piratic and Mithridatic wars. No triumphal procession was ever equal to this; the sons of Mithridates, the son of Tigranes, and Aristobulus, king of the Jews, were led before his car; a vast sum of money, an immense mass of gold and silver, was carried in front. At this time there was no war of any importance throughout the world.

17

Anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo nonagesimo tertio C. Iulius Caesar, qui postea imperavit, cum L. Bibulo consul est factus. Decreta est ei Gallia et Illyricum cum legionibus decem. Is primus vicit Helvetios, qui nunc Sequani appellantur, deinde vincendo per bella gravissima usque ad Oceanum Britannicum processit. Domuit autem annis novem fere omnem Galliam, quae inter Alpes, flumen Rhodanum, Rhenum et Oceanum est et circuitu patet ad bis et tricies centena milia passuum. Britannis mox bellum intulit, quibus ante eum ne nomen quidem Romanorum cognitum erat, eosque victos obsidibus acceptis stipendiarios fecit. Galliae autem tributum nomine annum imperavit stipendium quadringenties, Germanosque trans Rhenum adgressus inmanissimis proeliis vicit. Inter tot successus ter male pugnavit, apud Arvernorum semel praesens et absens in Germania bis. Nam legati eius duo, Titurius et Aurunculeius, per insidias caesi sunt.

XVII

In the six hundred and ninety-third year from the founding of the city, Caius Julius Caesar, who was afterwards emperor, was made consul with Lucius Bibulus; and Gaul and Illyricum, with ten legions, were decreed to him. He first subdued the Helvetii, who are now called Sequani; and afterwards, by conquering in most formidable wars, proceeded as far as the British ocean. In about nine years he subdued all that part of Gaul which lies between the Alps,

the river Rhone, the Rhine, and the Ocean, and extends in circumference nearly three thousand two hundred miles. He next made war upon the Britons, to whom not even the name of the Romans was known before his time; and having subdued them, and received hostages, sentenced them to pay a tribute. On Gaul, under the name of tribute, he imposed the yearly sum of forty thousand sester tia; and invading the Germans on the other side of the Rhine, defeated them in several most sanguinary engagements. Among so many successes, he met with three defeats, once in person among the Arverni, and twice in Germany during his absence; for two of his lieutenant-generals, Titurius and Aurunculeius, were cut off by ambuscades.

18

Circa eadem tempora anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo nonagesimo septimo, M. Licinius Crassus, collega Cn. Pompeii Magni in consulatu secundo, contra Parthos missus est et cum circa Carras contra omen et auspicia dimicasset, a Surena, Orodis regis duce, victus ad postremum interfectus est cum filio, clarissimo et praestantissimo iuvene. Reliquiae exercitus per C. Cassium quaestorem servatae sunt, qui singulari animo perditas res tanta virtute restituit, ut Persas rediens trans Euphraten crebris proeliis vinceret.

XVIII

About the same time, in the six hundred and ninety-seventh year from the foundation of the city, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Cnaeus Pompey the Great in his second consulship, was sent against the Parthians; and having engaged the enemy near Carrae, contrary to the omens and auspices, was defeated by Surena, the general of king Orodes, and at last killed, together with his son, a most noble and excellent young man. The remains of the army were saved by Caius Cassius the quaestor, who, with singular courage, so ably retrieved the ruined fortune of the Romans, that, in his retreat over the Euphrates, he defeated the Persians in several battles.

19

Hinc iam bellum civile successit exsecrandum et lacrimabile, quo praeter calamitates, quae in proeliis acciderunt, etiam populi Romani fortuna mutata est. Caesar enim rediens ex Gallia victor coepit poscere alterum consulatum

atque ita ut sine dubietate aliqua ei deferretur. Contradictum est a Marcello consule, a Bibulo, a Pompeio, a Catone, iussusque dimissis exercitibus ad urbem redire. Propter quam iniuriam ab Arimino, ubi milites congregatos habebat, adversum patriam cum exercitu venit. Consules cum Pompeio senatusque omnis atque universa nobilitas ex urbe fugit et in Graeciam transiit. Apud Epirum, Macedoniam, Achaïam Pompeio duce senatus contra Caesarem bellum paravit.

XIX

Soon after followed the Civil war, a war truly execrable and deplorable, in which, besides the havoc that occurred in the several battles, the fortune of the Roman people was changed. For Caesar, on returning victorious from Gaul, proceeded to demand another consulship, and in such a manner, that it was granted him without hesitation; yet opposition was made to it by Marcellus the consul, Bibulus, Pompey, and Cato, and he was in consequence ordered to disband his army and return to Rome; in revenge for which insult, he marched with his army from Ariminum, where he kept his forces assembled, against his country. The consuls, together with Pompey, the whole senate, and all the nobility, fled from the city, and crossed over into Greece; and in Epirus, Macedonia, and Achaia, the senate, under Pompey as their general, prepared war against Caesar.

20

Caesar vacuum urbem ingressus dictatorem se fecit. Inde Hispanias petiit. Ibi Pompeii exercitus validissimos et fortissimos cum tribus ducibus, L. Afranio, M. Petreio, M. Varrone, superavit. Inde regressus in Graeciam transiit, adversum Pompeium dimicavit. Primo proelio victus est et fugatus, evasit tamen, quia nocte interveniente Pompeius sequi noluit, dixitque Caesar nec Pompeium scire vincere et illo tantum die se potuisse superari. Deinde in Thessalia apud Palaeopharsalum productis utrimque ingentibus copiis dimicaverunt. Pompei acies habuit XL milia peditum, equites in sinistro cornu sexcentos, in dextro quingentos, praeterea totius Orientis auxilia, totam nobilitatem, innumeros senatores, praetorios, consulares et qui magnorum iam bellorum victores fuissent. Caesar in acie sua habuit peditum non integra XXX milia, equites mille.

Caesar, having marched into the deserted city, made himself dictator. Soon after he set out for Spain, where he defeated the armies of Pompey, which were very powerful and brave, with their three generals, Lucius Afranius, Marcus Petreius, and Marcus Varro. Returning from thence, he went over into Greece. He took the field against Pompey, but in the first battle was defeated and put to flight; he escaped, however, because Pompey declined to pursue him, as the night was coming on; when Caesar remarked, that Pompey knew not how to conquer, and that that was the only day on which he himself might have been vanquished. They next fought at Palaeopharsalus, in Thessaly, leading great forces into the field on both sides. The army of Pompey consisted of forty thousand foot, six hundred horse on the left wing, and five hundred on the right, besides auxiliary troops from the whole east, and all the nobility, senators without number, men of praetorian and consular rank, and some who had already been conquerors of powerful nations. Caesar had not quite thirty thousand infantry in his army, and but one thousand horse.

Numquam adhuc Romanae copiae in unum neque maiores neque melioribus ducibus convenerant, totum terrarum orbem facile subacturae, si contra barbaros ducerentur. Pugnatum tamen est ingenti contentione victusque ad postremum Pompeius et castra eius direpta sunt. Ipse fugatus Alexandriam petiit, ut a rege Aegypti, cui tutor a senatu datus fuerat propter iuvenilem eius aetatem, acciperet auxilia. Qui fortunam magis quam amicitiam secutus occidit Pompeium, caput eius et anulum Caesari misit. Quo conspecto Caesar etiam lacrimas fudisse dicitur, tanti viri intuens caput et generi quondam sui.

Never before had a greater number of Roman forces assembled in one place, or under better generals, forces which would easily have subdued the whole world, had they been led against barbarians. They fought with great eagerness, but Pompey was at last overcome, and his camp plundered. Pompey himself, when put to flight, sought refuge at Alexandria, with the hope of receiving aid from the king of Egypt, to whom, on account of his youth, he had been

appointed guardian by the senate; he, however, regarding fortune rather than friendship, caused Pompey to be killed, and sent his head and ring to Caesar; at sight of which even Caesar is said to have shed tears, as he viewed the head of so great a man, once his own son-in law.

22

Mox Caesar Alexandriam venit. Ipsi quoque Ptolomaeus parare voluit insidias, qua causa bellum regi inlatum est. Victus in Nilo periit inventumque est corpus eius cum lorica aurea. Caesar Alexandria potitus regnum Cleopatrae dedit, Ptolomaei sorori, cum qua consuetudinem stupri habuerat. Rediens inde Caesar Pharnacen, Mithridatis Magni filium, qui Pompeio in auxilium apud Thessaliam fuerat, rebellantem in Ponto et multas populi Romani provincias occupantem vicit acie, postea ad mortem coegit.

XXII

Caesar soon after went to Alexandria. Ptolemy attempted to form a plot against his life also; for which reason war was made upon him, and, being defeated, he perished in the Nile, and his body was found covered with a golden coat of mail. Caesar, having made himself master of Alexandria, conferred the kingdom on Cleopatra, the sister of Ptolemy, with whom he himself had an illicit connexion. On his return from thence, Caesar defeated in battle Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, who had assisted Pompey in Thessaly, taken up arms in Pontus, and seized upon several provinces of the Roman people; and at last drove him to self-destruction.

23

Inde Romam regressus tertio se consulem fecit cum M. Aemilio Lepido, qui ei magister equitum dictatori ante annum fuerat. Inde in Africam profectus est, ubi infinita nobilitas cum Iuba, Mauretaniae rege, bellum reparaverat. Duces autem Romani erant P. Cornelius Scipio ex genere antiquissimo Scipionis Africani (hic etiam socer Pompeii Magni fuerat), M. Petreius, Q. Varus, M. Porcius Cato, L. Cornelius Faustus, Sullae dictatoris filius. Contra hos commisso proelio, post multas dimicationes victor fuit Caesar. Cato, Scipio, Petreius, Iuba ipsi se occiderunt. Faustus, Sullae quondam dictatoris filius, Pompeii gener, a Caesare interfectus est.

Returning from thence to Rome, he created himself a third time consul with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had been his master of the horse when dictator the year before. Next he went into Africa, where a great number of the nobility, in conjunction with Juba, king of Mauritania, had resumed hostilities. The Roman leaders were Publius Cornelius Scipio, of the most ancient family of Scipio Africanus (who had also been the father-in-law of the great Pompey) Marcus Petreius, Quintus Varus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Lucius Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sulla the dictator. In a pitched battle fought against them, Caesar, after many struggles, was victorious. Cato, Scipio, Petreius, Juba, killed themselves; Faustus, Pompey's son-in-law, was slain by Caesar.

Post annum Caesar Romam regressus quarto se consulem fecit et statim ad Hispanias est profectus, ubi Pompeii filii, Cn. Pompeius et Sex. Pompeius, ingens bellum praeparaverant. Multa proelia fuerunt, ultimum apud Mundam civitatem, in quo adeo Caesar paene victus est, ut fugientibus suis se voluerit occidere, ne post tantam rei militaris gloriam in potestatem adolescentium, natus annos sex et quinquaginta, veniret. Denique reparatis suis vicit. Ex Pompeii filiis maior occisus est, minor fugit.

On his return to Rome the year after, Caesar made himself a fourth time consul, and immediately proceeded to Spain, where the sons of Pompey, Cnaeus, and Sextus, had again raised a formidable war. Many engagements took place, the last near the city of Munda, in which Caesar was so nearly defeated, that, upon his forces giving way, he felt inclined to kill himself, lest, after such great glory in war, he should fall, at the age of fifty-six, into the hands of young men. At length, having rallied his troops, he gained the victory; the elder son of Pompey was slain, the younger fled.

Inde Caesar bellis civilibus toto orbe conpositis Romam rediit. Agere

insolentius coepit et contra consuetudinem Romanae libertatis. Cum ergo et honores ex sua voluntate praestaret, qui a populo antea deferebantur, nec senatui ad se venienti adsurgeret aliaque regia et paene tyrannica faceret, coniuratum est in eum a sexaginta vel amplius senatoribus equitibusque Romanis. Praecipui fuerunt inter coniuratos duo Bruti ex eo genere Bruti, qui primus Romae consul fuerat et reges expulerat, et C. Cassius et Servilius Casca. Ergo Caesar, cum senatus die inter ceteros venisset ad curiam, tribus et viginti vulneribus confossus est.

XXV

The civil wars throughout the world being now terminated, Caesar returned to Rome, and began to conduct himself with too great arrogance, contrary to the usages of Roman liberty. As he disposed, therefore, at his own pleasure, of those honours, which were before conferred by the people and did not even rise up when the senate approached him, and exercised regal, or almost tyrannical power, in other respects, a conspiracy was formed against him by sixty or more Roman senators and knights. The chief among the conspirators were the two Bruti, (of the family of that Brutus who had been made first consul of Rome, and who had expelled the kings) Caius Cassius, and Servilius Casca. Caesar, in consequence, having entered the senate house with the rest, on a certain day appointed for a meeting of the senate, was stabbed with three and twenty wounds.

BOOK VII

Wars that followed on the death of Julius Caesar, I. — Antony flees to Lepidus, and is reconciled to Octavianus; their triumvirate, II. — Proceedings and deaths of Brutus and Cassius; division of the empire between Antony and Octavianus, III. — War with Sextus Pompey, IV. — Successes of Agrippa in Aquitania; Ventidius Bassus conquers the Parthians, V. — Death of Sextus Pompey; marriage of Antony and Cleopatra; unsuccessful expedition of Antony into Parthia, VI. — War between Octavianus and Antony; deaths of Antony and Cleopatra; Egypt added to the Roman empire, VII. — Octavianus becomes sole ruler under the name of Augustus, VIII. — His wars and victories, IX. X. — Character and acts of Tiberius, XI. — Of Caligula, XII. — Of Claudius, who subjugates Britain, XIII. — Of Nero, under whom two new provinces are made, Pontus Polemoniachus and Alpes Cottiae, XIV. XV. — Of Galba, XVI. — Of Otho, XVII. — Of Vitellius, XVIII. — Of Vespasian, under whom Judaea was added to the Roman dominions, with the provinces Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Samos, Thracia, Cilicia, Comagena, XIX. XX. — Of Titus, XXI. XXII. — Of Domitian, XXIII.

1

Anno urbis septingentesimo fere ac nono interfecto Caesare civilia bella reparata sunt. Percussoribus enim Caesaris senatus favebat. Antonius consul partium Caesaris civilibus bellis opprimere eos conabatur. Ergo turbata re publica multa Antonius scelera committens a senatu hostis iudicatus est. Missi ad eum persequendum duo consules, Pansa et Hirtius, et Octavianus, adulescens annos X et VIII natus, Caesaris nepos, quem ille testamento heredem reliquerat et nomen suum ferre iusserat. Hic est, qui postea Augustus est dictus et rerum potitus. Qui profecti contra Antonium tres duces vicerunt eum. Evenit tamen ut victores consules ambo morerentur. Quare tres exercitus uni Caesari Augusto paruerunt.

I

After the assassination of Caesar, in about the seven hundred and ninth year of the city, the civil wars were renewed; for the senate favoured the assassins of Caesar; and Antony, the consul, being of Caesar's party, endeavoured to crush them in a civil war. The state therefore being thrown into confusion, Antony, perpetrating many acts of violence, was declared an enemy by the senate. The two consuls, Pansa and Hirtius, were sent in pursuit of him, together with Octavianus, a youth of eighteen years of age, the nephew of Caesar, whom by his will he had appointed his heir, directing him to bear his name; this is the same who was afterwards called Augustus, and obtained the

imperial dignity. These three generals therefore marching against Antony, defeated him. It happened, however, that the two victorious consuls lost their lives; and the three armies in consequence became subject to Caesar only.

2

Fugatus Antonius amisso exercitu confugit ad Lepidum, qui Caesaris magister equitum fuerat et tum militum copias grandes habebat, a quo susceptus est. Mox Lepido operam dante Caesar pacem cum Antonio fecit et quasi vindicaturus patris sui mortem, a quo per testamentum fuerat adoptatus, Romam cum exercitu profectus extorsit, ut sibi vicesimo anno consulatus daretur. Senatum proscripsit, cum Antonio ac Lepido rem publicam armis tenere coepit. Per hos etiam Cicero orator occisus est multique alii nobiles.

II

Antony, being routed, and having lost his army, fled to Lepidus, who had been master of the horse to Caesar, and was at that time in possession of a strong body of forces, by whom he was well received. By the mediation of Lepidus, Caesar shortly after made peace with Antony, and, as if with intent to avenge the death of his father, by whom he had been adopted in his will, marched to Rome at the head of an army, and forcibly procured his appointment to the consulship in his twentieth year. In conjunction with Antony and Lepidus he proscribed the senate, and proceeded to make himself master of the state by arms. By their acts, Cicero the orator, and many others of the nobility, were put to death.

3

Interea Brutus et Cassius, interfectores Caesaris, ingens bellum moverunt. Erant enim per Macedoniam et Orientem multi exercitus, quos occupaverant. Profecti sunt igitur contra eos Caesar Octavianus Augustus et M. Antonius; remanserat enim ad defendendam Italiam Lepidus. Apud Philippos, Macedoniae urbem, contra eos pugnaverunt. Primo proelio victi sunt Antonius et Caesar, periit tamen dux nobilitatis Cassius, secundo Brutum et infinitam nobilitatem, quae cum illis bellum gesserat, victam interfecerunt. Ac sic inter eos divisa est res publica, ut Augustus Hispanias, Gallias et Italiam teneret, Antonius Asiam, Pontum, Orientem. Sed in Italia L. Antonius consul bellum

civile commovit, frater eius, qui cum Caesare contra Brutum et Cassium dimicaverat. Is apud Perusium, Tusciae civitatem, victus et captus est, neque occisus.

III

In the meantime Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of Caesar, raised a great war; for there were several armies in Macedonia and the East, of which they took the command. Caesar Octavianus Augustus, therefore, and Mark Antony, proceeding against them (for Lepidus remained for the defence of Italy), came to an engagement at Philippi, a city of Macedonia. In the first battle Antony and Caesar were defeated, but Cassius, the leader of the nobility, fell; in the second they defeated and killed Brutus, and very many of the nobility who had joined them in the war; and the republic was divided among the conquerors, so that Augustus had Spain, the Gauls, and Italy; Antony, Asia, Pontus, and the East. But the consul Lucius Antonius, the brother of him who had fought with Caesar against Brutus and Cassius, kindled a civil war in Italy; and being defeated near Perusia, a city of Tuscany, was taken prisoner, but not put to death.

4

Interim a Sex. Pompeio, Cn. Pompeii Magni filio, ingens bellum in Sicilia commotum est his, qui superfuerant ex partibus Bruti Cassiique, ad eum confluentibus. Bellatum per Caesarem Augustum Octavianum et M. Antonium adversus Sex. Pompeium est. Pax postremo convenit.

IV

In the meantime a war of a serious nature was excited in Sicily by Sextus Pompey, the son of Cnaeus Pompey the Great, those that survived of the party of Brutus and Cassius flocking to join him from all parts. The war against Sextus Pompey was carried on by Gassar Augustus Octavianus and Mark Antony. A peace was at length concluded.

5

Eo tempore M. Agrippa in Acquitania rem prospere gessit et L. Ventidius Bassus inrumpentes in Syriam Persas tribus proeliis vicit. Pacorum, regis

Orodis filium, interfecit eo ipso die, quo olim Orodes, Persarum rex, per ducem Surenam Crassum occiderat. Hic primus de Parthis iustissimum triumphum Romae egit.

V

About that time Marcus Agrippa met with great success in Aquitania; also Lucius Ventidius Bassus defeated the Persians, who were making incursions into Syria, in three engagements. He killed Pacorus, the son of king Orodes, on that very day on which Orodes, the king of the Persians, had before put Crassus to death by the hands of his general Surena. He was the first who celebrated a most legitimate triumph at Rome over the Parthians.

6

Interim Pompeius pacem rupit et navali proelio victus fugiens ad Asiam interfectus est. Antonius, qui Asiam et Orientem tenebat, repudiata sorore Caesaris Augusti Octaviani Cleopatram, reginam Aegypti, duxit uxorem. Contra Persas etiam ipse pugnavit. Primis eos proeliis vicit, regrediens tamen fame et pestilentia laboravit et, cum instarent Parthi fugienti, ipse pro victo recessit.

VI

In the meantime Sextus Pompey violated the peace, and, being defeated in a sea-fight, fled to Asia, and was there put to death.

Antony, who was master of Asia and the East, having divorced the sister of Caesar Augustus Octavianus, married Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. He also fought in person against the Persians, and defeated them in the first encounters; but on his return suffered greatly from famine and pestilence; and as the Parthians pressed on him in his retreat, he retired from before them just as if he had been defeated.

7

Hic quoque ingens bellum civile commovit cogente uxore Cleopatra, regina Aegypti, dum cupiditate muliebri optat etiam in urbe regnare. Victus est ab Augusto navali pugna clara et inlustri apud Actium, qui locus in Epiro est, ex

qua fugit in Aegyptum et desperatis rebus, cum omnes ad Augustum transirent, ipse se interemit. Cleopatra sibi aspidem admisit et veneno eius extincta est. Aegyptus per Octavianum Augustum imperio Romano adiecta est praepositusque ei C. Cornelius Gallus. Hunc primum Aegyptus Romanum iudicem habuit.

VII

He also excited a great civil war, at the instigation of his wife Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who aspired with a womanish ambition to reign at Rome. He was defeated by Augustus in the remarkable and celebrated sea-fight at Actium, a place in Epirus; whence he fled into Egypt, and there, as his circumstances grew desperate, since all went over to Augustus, committed suicide. Cleopatra applied to herself an asp, and perished by its venom. Egypt was added to, the Roman empire by Octavianus Augustus, and Cnaeus Cornelius Gallus appointed governor of it; he was the first Roman judge that Egypt had.

8

Ita bellis toto orbe confectis Octavianus Augustus Romam rediit, duodecimo anno, quam consul fuerat. Ex eo rem publicam per quadraginta et quattuor annos solus obtinuit. Ante enim duodecim annis cum Antonio et Lepido tenuerat. Ita ab initio principatus eius usque ad finem quinquaginta et sex anni fuerunt. Obiit autem septuagesimo sexto anno morte communi in oppido Campaniae Atella. Romae in campo Martio sepultus est, vir, qui non inmerito ex maxima parte deo similis est putatus. Neque enim facile ullus eo aut in bellis felicior fuit aut in pace moderatior. Quadraginta et quattuor annis, quibus solus gessit imperium, civilissime vixit, in cunctos liberalissimus, in amicos fidissimus, quos tantis evexit honoribus, ut paene aequaret fastigio suo.

VIII

Having thus brought wars to an end throughout the world, OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS returned to Rome in the twelfth year after he had been elected consul. From that period he held the government as sole ruler for forty-four years, for during the twelve previous years he had held it in conjunction with

Antony and Lepidus. Thus from the beginning of his reign to the end were fifty-six years. He died a natural death in his eighty-sixth year, at the town of Atella in Campania. and his remains are interred at Rome in the Campus Martius. He was a man who was considered in most respects, and not without reason, to resemble a divinity, for scarcely ever was there any one more successful than he in war, or more prudent in peace. During the forty-four years that he held the government alone, he conducted himself with the greatest courtesy, being most liberal to all, and most faithful to his friends, whom he raised to such honours, that he placed them almost on a level with his own dignity.

9

Nulla tempore ante eum magis Romana res floruit. Nam exceptis civilibus bellis, in quibus invictus fuit, Romano adiecit imperio Aegyptum, Cantabriam, Dalmatiam saepe ante victam, sed penitus tunc subactam, Pannoniam, Aquitaniam, Illyricum, Raetiam, Vindelicos et Salassos in Alpibus, omnes Ponti maritimas civitates, in his nobilissimas Bosphorum et Panticapaeum. Vicit autem multis proeliis Dacos. Germanorum ingentes copias cecidit, ipsos quoque trans Albim fluvium summovit, qui in Barbarico longe ultra Rhenum est. Hoc tamen bellum per Drusum, privignum suum, administravit, sicut per Tiberium, privignum alterum, Pannonicum, quo bello XL captivorum milia ex Germania transtulit et supra ripam Rheni in Gallia collocavit. Armeniam a Parthis recepit. Obsides, quod nulli antea, Persae ei dederunt. Reddiderunt etiam signa Romana, quae Crasso victo ademerant.

IX

At no period was the Roman state more flourishing; for, to say nothing of the civil wars, in which he was unconquered, he added to the Roman empire Egypt, Cantabria, Dalmatia, often before conquered but only then entirely subdued, Pannonia, Aquitania, Illyricum, Rhaetia, the Vindelici and Salassi on the Alps, and all the maritime cities of Pontus, among which the two most noble were Bosphorus and Panticapaeon. He also conquered the Dacians in battle; put to the sword numerous forces of the Germans; and drove them beyond the river Elbe, which is in the country of the barbarians far beyond the Rhine. This war however he carried on by the agency of his step-son Drusus,

as he had conducted the Pannonian war by that of his other step-son Tiberius, in which he transplanted forty thousand prisoners from Germany, and settled them in Gaul on the bank of the Rhine. He recovered Armenia from the Parthians; the Persians gave him hostages, which they had given to no one before; and also restored the Roman standards, which they had taken from Crassus when he was defeated.

10

Scythae et Indi, quibus antea Romanorum nomen incognitum fuerat, munera et legatos ad eum miserunt. Galatia quoque sub hoc provincia facta est, cum antea regnum fuisset, primusque eam M. Lollius pro praetore administravit. Tanto autem amore etiam apud barbaros fuit, ut reges populi Romani amici in honorem eius conderent civitates, quas Caesareas nominarent, sicut in Mauritania a rege Iuba, et in Palaestina, quae nunc urbs est clarissima. Multi autem reges ex regnis suis venerunt, ut ei obsequerentur, et habitu Romano, togati scilicet, ad vehiculum vel equum ipsius cucurrerunt. Moriens Divus appellatus. Rem publicam beatissimam Tiberio successoris reliquit, qui privignus ei, mox gener, postremo adoptione filius fuerat.

X

The Scythians and Indians, to whom the Roman name was before unknown, sent him presents and ambassadors. Galatia also was made a province under his reign, having before been an independent kingdom, and Marcus Lollius was the first that governed it, in quality of praetor. So much was he beloved even by the barbarians, that kings, allies of the Roman people, founded cities in his honour, to which they gave the name of Caesarea, as one in Mauritania, built by King Juba, and another in Palestine, which is now a very celebrated city. Many kings, moreover, left their own dominions, and, assuming the Roman dress, that is, the toga, ran by the side of his carriage or his horse. At his death he was styled a divinity. He left the state in a most prosperous condition to his successor Tiberius, who had been his step-son, afterwards his son-in-law, and lastly his son by adoption.

11

Tiberius ingenti socordia imperium gessit, gravi crudelitate, scelestas avaritias,

turpi libidine. Nam nusquam ipse pugnavit, bella per legatos gessit suos. Quosdam reges ad se per blanditias evocatos numquam remisit, in quibus Archelaum Cappadocem, cuius etiam regnum in provinciae formam redegit et maximam civitatem appellari nomine suo iussit, quae nunc Caesarea dicitur, cum Mazaca antea vocaretur. Hic tertio et vicesimo imperii anno, aetatis septuagesimo octavo, ingenti omnium gaudio mortuus est in Campania.

XI

TIBERIUS distinguished his reign by great indolence, excessive cruelty, unprincipled avarice, and abandoned licentiousness. He fought on no occasion in person; the wars were carried on by his generals. Some kings, whom he induced to visit him by seducing allurements, he never sent back; among them was Archelaus of Cappadocia, whose kingdom also he reduced to the form of a province, and directed that its principal city should be called after his own name; and, having been before called Mazaca, it is now termed Caesarea. He died in Campania, in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the eighty-third of his age, to the great joy of all men.

12

Successit ei C. Caesar, cognomento Caligula, Drusi, privigni Augusti, et ipsius Tiberii nepos, sceleratissimus ac funestissimus et qui etiam Tiberii dedecora purgaverit. Bellum contra Germanos suscepit et ingressus Sueviam nihil strenue fecit. Stupra sororibus intulit, ex una etiam filiam cognovit. Cum adversum cunctos ingenti avaritia, libidine, crudelitate saeviret, interfectus in Palatio est anno aetatis vicesimo nono, imperii tertio, mense decimo dieque octavo.

XII

To him succeeded CAIUS CAESAR, surnamed CALIGULA, the grandson of Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, and grand-nephew of Tiberius himself, a most wicked and cruel prince, who effaced even the memory of Tiberius's enormities. He undertook a war against the Germans; but, after entering Suevia, made no effort to do anything. He committed incest with his sisters, and acknowledged a daughter that he had by one of them. While tyrannizing over all with the utmost avarice, licentiousness, and cruelty, he was

assassinated in the palace, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, in the third year, tenth month, and eighth day of his reign.

13

Post hunc Claudius fuit, patruus Caligulae, Drusi, qui apud Mogontiacum monumentum habet, filius, cuius et Caligula nepos erat. Hic medie imperavit, multa gerens tranquille atque moderate, quaedam crudeliter et insulse. Britanniae intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum post C. Caesarem attigerat, eaque devicta per Cn. Sentium et A. Plautium, inlustres ac nobiles viros, triumphum celebrem egit. Quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britannias in Oceano positas imperio Romano addidit, quae appellantur Orchades, filio autem suo Britannici nomen inposuit. Tam civilis autem circa quosdam amicos extitit, ut etiam Plautium, nobilem virum, qui expeditione Britannica multa egregie fecerat, triumphantem ipse prosequeretur et conscendenti Capitolium laevus incederet. Is vixit annos IV et LX, imperavit XIV. Post mortem consecratus est Divusque appellatus.

XIII

After him reigned CLAUDIUS, the uncle of Caligula, and son of that Drusus who has a monument at Moguntiacum, whose grandson Caligula also was. His reign was of no striking character; he acted, in many respects, with gentleness and moderation, in some with cruelty and folly. He made war upon Britain, which no Roman since Julius Caesar had visited; and, having reduced it through the agency of Cnaeus Sentius and Aulus Plautius, illustrious and noble men, he celebrated a magnificent triumph. Certain islands also, called the Orcades, situated in the ocean, beyond Britain, he added to the Roman empire, and gave his son the name of Britannicus. So condescending, too, was he towards some of his friends, that he even attended Plautius, a man of noble birth, who had obtained many signal successes in the expedition to Britain, in his triumph, and walked at his left hand when he went up to the Capitol. He lived to the age of sixty-four, and reigned fourteen years; and after his death was consecrated and deified.

14

Successit huic Nero, Caligulae, avunculo suo, simillimus, qui Romanum

imperium et deformavit et diminuit, inusitatae luxuriae sumptuumque, ut qui exemplo C. Caligulae in calidis et frigidis lavaret unguentis, retibus aureis piscaretur, quae blattinis funibus extrahebat. Infinitam senatus partem interfecit, bonis omnibus hostis fuit. Ad postremum se tanto dedecore prostituit, ut et saltaret et cantaret in scaena citharoedico habitu vel tragico. Parricidia multa commisit, fratre, uxore, sorore, matre interfectis. Urbem Romam incendit, ut spectaculi eius imaginem cerneret, quali olim Troia capta arserat. In re militari nihil omnino ausus Britanniam paene amisit. Nam duo sub eo nobilissima oppida capta illic atque eversa sunt. Armeniam Parthi sustulerunt legionesque Romanas sub iugum miserunt. Duae tamen sub eo provinciae factae sunt, Pontus Polemoniacus concedente rege Polemone et Alpes Cottiae Cottio rege defuncto.

XIV

To him succeeded NERO, who greatly resembled his uncle Caligula, and both disgraced and weakened the Roman empire; he indulged in such extraordinary luxury and extravagance, that, after the example of Caius Caligula, he even bathed in hot and cold perfumes, and fished with golden nets, which he drew up with cords of purple silk. He put to death a very great number of the senate. To all good men he was an enemy. At last he exposed himself in so disgraceful a manner, that he danced and sung upon the stage in the dress of a harp-player and tragedian. He was guilty of many murders, his brother, wife, and mother, being put to death by him. He set on fire the city of Rome, that he might enjoy the sight of a spectacle such as Troy formerly presented when taken and burned.

In military affairs he attempted nothing. Britain he almost lost; for two of its most noble towns were taken and levelled to the ground under his reign. The Parthian's took from him Armenia, and compelled the Roman legions to pass under the yoke. Two provinces however were formed under him; Pontus Polemoniacus, by the concession of King Polemon; and the Cottian Alps, on the death of King Cottius.

Per haec Romano orbi execrabilis ab omnibus simul destitutus est et a senatu hostis iudicatus; cum quaereretur ad poenam, quae poena erat talis, ut nudus

per publicum ductus, furca capiti eius inserta, virgis usque ad mortem caederetur atque ita praecipitaretur a saxo, e Palatio fugit et in suburbano liberti sui, quod est inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam ad quartum urbis miliarium, se interfecit. Is aedificavit Romae thermas, quae ante Neronianae dictae nunc Alexandrianae appellantur. Obiit tricesimo et altero aetatis anno, imperii quarto decimo, atque in eo omnis Augusti familia consumpta est.

XV

When, having become detestable by such conduct to the city of Rome, and being deserted at the same time by every one, and declared an enemy by the senate, he was sought for to be led to punishment (the punishment being, that he should be dragged naked through the streets, with a fork placed under his head, be beaten to death with rods, and then hurled from the Tarpeian rock), he fled from the palace, and killed himself in a suburban villa of one of his freed-men, between the Salarian and Nomentane roads, at the fourth milestone from the city. He built those hot baths at Rome, which were formerly called the Neronian, but now the Alexandrian. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth year of his reign; and in him all the family of Augustus became extinct.

16

Huic Ser. Galba successit, antiquissimae nobilitatis senator, cum septuagesimum et tertium annum ageret aetatis, ab Hispanis et Gallis imperator electus, mox ab universo exercitu libenter acceptus. Nam privata eius vita insignis fuerat militaribus et civilibus rebus. Saepe consul, saepe pro consule, frequenter dux in gravissimis bellis. Huius breve imperium fuit et quod bona haberet exordia, nisi ad severitatem propensior videretur. Insidiis tamen Othonis occisus est imperii mense septimo. Iugulatus in foro Romae sepultusque in hortis suis, qui sunt Aurelia via non longe ab urbe Roma.

XVI

To Nero succeeded SERVIUS GALBA, a senator of a very ancient and noble family, elected emperor when in his seventy-third year by the Spaniards and Gauls, and soon after readily acknowledged by the whole army; for his life, though but that of a private person, had been distinguished by many military

and civil exploits, having been often consul, often proconsul, and frequently general in most important wars. His reign was short, but had a promising commencement, except that he seemed to incline too much to severity. He was killed however by the treachery of Otho, in the seventh month of his reign, in the forum at Rome, and buried in his gardens, which are situated in the Aurelian way, not far from the city.

17

Otho occiso Galba invasit imperium, materno genere nobilior quam paterno, neutro tamen obscuro. In privata vita mollis et Neroni familiaris, in imperio documentum sui non potuit ostendere. Nam cum isdem temporibus, quibus Otho Galbam occiderat, etiam Vitellius factus esset a Germanicianis exercitibus imperator, bello contra eum suscepto cum apud Betriacum in Italia levi proelio victus esset, ingentes tamen copias ad bellum haberet, sponte semet occidit. Petentibus militibus, ne tam cito de belli desperaret eventu, cum tanti se non esse dixisset, ut propter eum bellum civile moveretur, voluntaria morte obiit tricesimo et octavo aetatis anno, nonagesimo et quinto imperii die.

XVII

OTHO, after Galba was killed, took possession of the government, a man of a nobler descent on the mother's than the father's side, but obscure on neither. In private life he was effeminate, and an intimate of Nero; in his government he could give no evidence of his disposition; for Vitellius, about the same time that Otho had slain Galba, having been also chosen emperor by the German armies, Otho, having commenced a war against him, and having sustained a defeat in a slight skirmish near Bebriacum in Italy, voluntarily, though he had still powerful forces remaining, put an end to his life, in spite of the entreaties of his soldiers that he would not so soon despair of the issue of the war; saying, "that he was not of sufficient importance that a civil war should be raised on his account." He perished thus voluntarily in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and on the ninety-fifth day of his reign.

18

Dein Vitellius imperio potitus est, familia honorata magis quam nobili. Nam pater eius non admodum clare natus tres tamen ordinarios gesserat consulatus.

Hic cum multo dedecore imperavit et gravi saevitia notabilis, praecipue ingluvie et voracitate, quippe cum de die saepe quarto vel quinto feratur epulatus. Notissima certe cena memoriae mandata est, quam ei Vitellius frater exhibuit, in qua super ceteros sumptus duo milia piscium, septem milia avium adposita traduntur. Hic cum Neroni similis esse vellet atque id adeo prae se ferret, ut etiam exequias Neronis, quae humiliter sepultae fuerant, honoraret, a Vespasiani ducibus occisus est interfecto prius in urbe Sabino, Vespasiani imperatoris fratre, quem cum Capitolio incendit. Interfectus autem est magno dedecore: tractus per urbem Romam publice, nudus, erecto coma capite et subiecto ad mentum gladio, stercore in vultum et pectus ab omnibus obviis adpetitus, postremo iugulatus et in Tiberim deiectus etiam communi caruit sepultura. Periiit autem aetatis anno septimo et quinquagesimo, imperii mense octavo et die uno.

XVIII

VITELLIUS next obtained the imperial dignity, of a family rather honourable than noble, for his father was not of very high birth, though he had filled three regular consulships. He reigned most disgracefully, being distinguished by the greatest cruelty, but especially by gluttony and voraciousness, since he is reported to have often feasted four or five times a day. A most remarkable supper at least has been recorded, which his brother Vitellius set before him, and in which, besides other expensive dainties, two thousand fishes and seven thousand birds are said to have been placed on the table.

Being anxious to resemble Nero, and aiming so openly at this that he even paid respect to his remains, which had been meanly buried, he was slain by the generals of the emperor Vespasian, Vitellius having previously put to death Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, and burned his corpse at the same time with the Capitol. When killed, he was dragged naked, with great ignominy, through the public streets of the city, with his hair erect, and his head raised by means of a sword placed under his chin, and pelted with dung on the face and breast by all that came in the way; at last his throat was cut, and he was thrown into the Tiber, and had not even the common rites of burial. He perished in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in the eighth month and first day of his reign.

Vespasianus huic successit, factus apud Palaestinam imperator, princeps obscure quidem natus, sed optimis comparandus, privata vita inlustris, ut qui a Claudio in Germaniam et deinde in Britanniam missus tricies et bis cum hoste conflixerit, duas validissimas gentes, viginti oppida, insulam Vectam, Britanniae proximam, imperio Romano adiecerit. Romae se in imperio moderatissime gessit. Pecuniae tantum avidior fuit, ita tamen, ut eam nulli iniuste auferret. Quam cum omni diligentiae provisione colligeret, tamen studiosissime largiebatur, praecipue indigentibus. Nec facile ante eum cuiusquam principis vel maior est liberalitas comperta, vel iustior. Placidissimae lenitatis, ut qui maiestatis quoque contra se reos non facile punierit ultra exilii poenam. Sub hoc Iudaea Romano accessit imperio et Hierosolyma, quae fuit urbs nobilissima Palaestinae. Achaïam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum, quae liberae ante id tempus fuerant, item Thraciam, Ciliciam, Commagenen, quae sub regibus amicis egerant, in provinciarum formam redegit.

XIX

To him succeeded VESPASIAN, who had been chosen emperor in Palestine, a prince indeed of obscure birth, but worthy to be compared with the best emperors, and in private life greatly distinguished, as he had been sent by Claudius into Germany, and afterwards into Britain, and had contended two and thirty times with the enemy; he had also added to the Roman empire two very powerful nations, twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight on the coast of Britain. At Rome he acted with the greatest forbearance during his government; though he was rather too eager after money; not however that he deprived any one of it unjustly, and even when he had collected it with the greatest diligence and anxiety, he was in the habit of distributing it most readily, especially to the indigent; nor was the liberality of any prince before him greater or more judicious: he was also of a most mild and amiable disposition, insomuch that he never willingly inflicted a severer penalty than banishment, even on persons convicted of treason against himself.

Under this prince Judaea was added to the Roman empire, and Jerusalem, the most celebrated city of Palestine. He also reduced to the form of provinces

Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, Samos, which had been free till this period; together with Thrace, Cilicia, and Comagena, which had been governed by their respective kings in alliance with the Romans.

20

Offensarum et inimicitarum inmemor fuit, convicia a causidicis et philosophis in se dicta leviter tulit, diligens tamen coercitor disciplinae militaris. Hic cum filio Tito de Hierosolymis triumphavit. Per haec cum senatui, populo, postremo cunctis amabilis ac iucundus esset, profluvio ventris extinctus est in villa propria circa Sabinos, annum agens aetatis sexagesimum nonum, imperii nonum et diem septimum, atque inter Divos relatus est. Genituram filiorum ita cognitam habuit, ut, cum multae contra eum coniurationes fierent, quas patefactas ingenti dissimulatione contempsit, in senatu dixerit aut filios sibi successuros, aut neminem.

XX

Offences and animosities he never bore in mind; reproaches uttered against himself by lawyers and philosophers he bore with indulgence, but was a strenuous enforcer of military discipline. He triumphed, together with his son Titus, on account of the taking of Jerusalem.

After having thus become an object of love and favour with the senate and the people, and indeed with all men, he died of a diarrhoea, in his own villa in the Sabine country, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, the ninth year and seventh day of his reign; and was enrolled among the gods.

21

Huic Titus filius successit, qui et ipse Vespasianus est dictus, vir omnium virtutum genere mirabilis adeo, ut amor et deliciae humani generis diceretur, facundissimus, bellicosissimus, moderatissimus. Causas Latine egit, poemata et tragoedias Graece composuit. In oppugnatione Hierosolymorum sub patre militans duodecim propugnatores duodecim sagittarum confixit ictibus. Romae tantae civilitatis in imperio fuit, ut nullum omnino puniret, convictos adversum se coniurationis dimiserit vel in eadem familiaritate, qua antea, habuerit. Facilitatis et liberalitatis tantae fuit, ut, cum nulli quicquam negaret et ab amicis reprehenderetur, responderit nullum tristem debere ab imperatore

discedere, praeterea, cum quadam die in cena recordatus fuisset nihil se illo die cuiquam praestitisse, dixerit: “Amici, hodie diem perdi”. Hic Romae amphitheatrum aedificavit et quinque milia ferarum in dedicatione eius occidit.

XXI

To him succeeded his son TITUS, who was also called Vespasian, a man remarkable for every species of virtue, so that he was styled the favourite and delight of mankind. He was extremely eloquent, warlike, and temperate; he pleaded causes in Latin, and composed poems and tragedies in Greek. At the siege of Jerusalem, while serving under his father, he killed twelve of the besieged with wounds from as many arrows. During his government at Rome, such was his lenity towards the citizens, that he did not punish a single person; and even some that were convicted of a conspiracy against himself he released, and treated them on the same terms of intimacy as before. Such was his good-nature and generosity, that he never refused any thing to any one, and being blamed by his friends on this account, replied, that no one ought to leave an emperor in discontent. Hence, having recollected once at supper, that he had conferred no obligation on any one that day, he exclaimed: “O, my friends! I have lost this day!” He built an amphitheatre at Rome, and slaughtered five thousand wild beasts at the dedication of it.

22

Per haec inusitato favore dilectus morbo periit in ea, qua pater, villa post biennium et menses octo, dies viginti, quam imperator erat factus, aetatis anno altero et quadragesimo. Tantus luctus eo mortuo publicus fuit, ut omnes tamquam in propria doluerint orbitate. Senatus obitu ipsius circa vesperam nuntiato nocte inrupit in curiam et tantas ei mortuo laudes gratiasque conguessit, quantas nec vivo umquam egerat nec praesenti. Inter Divos relatus est.

XXII

While beloved for such conduct, with extraordinary affection, he fell ill and died in the same villa as his father, two years, eight months, and twenty days after he became emperor, and in the forty-second year of his age. So great was

the public lamentation on his death, that all mourned as for a loss in their own families. The senate, having received intelligence of his death about the evening, hurried into the senate-house in the night, and heaped upon him after his death even more expressions of good will and commendation, than they had uttered when he was alive and present among them. He was enrolled among the gods.

23

Domitianus mox accepit imperium, frater ipsius iunior, Neroni aut Caligulae aut Tiberio similior quam patri vel fratri suo. Primis tamen annis moderatus in imperio fuit, mox ad ingentia vitia progressus libidinis, iracundiae, crudelitatis, avaritiae tantum in se odii concitavit, ut merita et patris et fratris aboleret. Interfecit nobilissimos e senatu. Dominum se et deum primus appellari iussit. Nullam sibi nisi auream et argenteam statuam in Capitolio passus est poni. Consobrinos suos interfecit. Superbia quoque in eo execrabilis fuit. Expeditiones quattuor habuit, unam adversum Sarmatas, alteram adversum Catts, duas adversum Dacos. De Dacis Cattisque duplicem triumphum egit, de Sarmatis solam lauream usurpavit. Multas tamen calamitates isdem bellis passus est; nam in Sarmatia legio eius cum duce interfecta est et a Dacis Oppius Sabinus consularis et Cornelius Fuscus, praefectus praetorio, cum magnis exercitibus occisi sunt. Romae quoque multa opera fecit, in his Capitolium et Forum Transitorium, Divorum Porticus, Isium ac Serapium et Stadium. Verum, cum ob scelera universis exosus esse coepisset, interfectus est suorum coniuratione in Palatio anno aetatis quadragesimo quinto, imperii quinto decimo. Funus eius ingenti dedecore per vespillones exportatum et ignobiliter est sepultum.

XXIII

DOMITIAN next received the imperial dignity, the younger brother of Titus, but more like Nero, or Caligula, or Tiberius, than his father or brother. In the commencement however of his reign he used his power with moderation; but, soon proceeding to the greatest excesses of licentiousness, rage, cruelty, and avarice, he provoked such universal detestation, that he effaced the remembrance of his father's and his brother's merits. He put to death the most distinguished of the senate. He was the first that required to be addressed as

Lord and God; and he suffered no statue to be erected to him in the Capitol except of gold or silver. He put his own cousins to death. His pride also was execrable.

He made four expeditions, one against the Sarmatians, another against the Catti, and two against the Dacians. On account of the Dacians and the Catti he celebrated a double triumph; for the Sarmatians, he assumed only the laurel. He suffered many disasters however in these wars, for in Sarmatia one of his legions was cut off together with its captain, and by the Dacians Oppius Sabinus, a person of consular dignity, and Cornelius Fuscus, the prefect of the praetorian cohort, were slain, with numerous armies. At Rome he also erected several public buildings, among which were the Capitol, the Forum Transitorium, the Odeum, the Porticus Divorum, the temples of Isis and Serapis, and the Stadium.

But, becoming universally odious on account of his crimes, he was put to death by a conspiracy of his own servants within the palace, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out with extreme insult by common bearers, and buried ignominiously.

BOOK VIII

Justice and mildness of Nerva, I. — Merits of Trajan; he extends the limits of the Roman empire, II.-V. — Hadrian, envying the glory of Trajan, contracts the bounds of the empire, and promotes the arts and occupations of peace, VI. VII. — Virtues of Antoninus Pius, VIII. — After his reign the commonwealth had two emperors with equal power, Marcus and Lucius Antoninus Verus; the studies and character of Marcus; his wars in Parthia, Germany, and with the Marcomanni, which he conducted alone or in conjunction with Lucius, IX.-XIV. — Antoninus Commodus, who resembles his father only in fighting successfully against the Germans, XV. — Helvius Pertinax, XVI. — Salvius Julianus, XVII. — Septimius Severus, an African, overthrows his rivals for the throne, and conquers the Parthians, Arabians, and Adiabeni, XVIII. — His learning; his war and death in Britain, XIX. — Antoninus Caracalla, XX. — Opilius Macrinus and Diadumenus, XXI. — Heliogabalus, XXII. — Alexander Severus; his victory over the Persians; his enforcement of military discipline; in his reign lived Ulpian, XXIII.

1

Anno octingentesimo et quinquagesimo ab urbe condita, Vetere et Valente consulibus res publica ad prosperrimum statum rediit bonis principibus ingenti felicitate commissa. Domitiano enim exitiabili tyranno, Nerva successit, vir in privata vita moderatus et strenuus, nobilitatis mediae. Qui senex admodum operam dante Petronio Secundo, praefecto praetorio, item Parthenio interfectore Domitiani, imperator est factus; aequissimum se et civilissimum praebuit. Rei publicae divina provisione consuluit Traianum adoptando. Mortuus est Romae post annum et quattuor menses imperii sui ac dies octo, aetatis septuagesimo et altero anno, atque inter Divos relatus est.

I

In the eight hundred and fiftieth year from the foundation of the city, in the consulship of Vetus and Valens, the empire was restored to a most prosperous condition, being committed, with great good fortune, to the rule of meritorious princes. To Domitian, a most murderous tyrant, succeeded NERVA, a man of moderation and activity in private life, and of noble descent, though not of the very highest rank. He was made emperor at an advanced age, Petronius Secundus, the praefect of the praetorian guards, and Parthenius, one of the assassins of Domitian, giving him their support, and conducted himself with great justice and public spirit. He provided for the good of the state by a divine foresight, in his adoption of Trajan. He died at Rome, after a reign of

one year, four months, and eight days, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was enrolled among the gods.

2

Successit ei Ulpus Crinitus Traianus, natus Italicae in Hispania, familia antiqua magis quam clara. Nam pater eius primum consul fuit. Imperator autem apud Agrippinam in Galliis factus est. Rem publicam ita administravit, ut omnibus principibus merito praeferatur, inusitatae civilitatis et fortitudinis. Romani imperii, quod post Augustum defensum magis fuerat quam nobiliter ampliatum, fines longe lateque diffudit. Urbes trans Rhenum in Germania reparavit. Daciam Decibalo victo subegit, provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Taifali, Victoali et Tervingi habent. Ea provincia decies centena milia passuum in circuitu tenuit.

II

To him succeeded ULPIUS CRINITUS TRAJANUS, born at Italica in Spain, of a family rather ancient than eminent for his father was the first consul in it. He was chosen emperor at Agrippina, a city of Gaul. He exercised the government in such a manner, that he is deservedly preferred to all the other emperors. He was a man of extraordinary skill in managing affairs of state, and of remarkable courage. The limits of the Roman empire, which, since the reign of Augustus, had been rather defended than honourably enlarged, he extended far and wide. He rebuilt some cities in Germany; he subdued Dacia by the overthrow of Decebalus, and formed a province beyond the Danube, in that territory which the Thaiphali, Victoali, and Theruingi now occupy. This province was a thousand miles in circumference.

3

Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi recepit, Parthomasiri occiso, qui eam tenebat. Albanis regem dedit. Hiberorum regem et Sauromatarum et Bosphoranorum et Arabum et Osdroenorum et Colchorum in fidem accepit. Carduenos, Marcomedos occupavit et Anthemusium, magnam Persidis regionem, Seleuciam, Ctesiphontem, Babylonem; Messenios vicit ac tenuit. Usque ad Indiae fines et mare Rubrum accessit atque ibi tres provincias fecit, Armeniam, Assyriam, Mesopotamiam, cum his gentibus, quae Madenam

attingunt. Arabiam postea in provinciae formam redegit. In mari Rubro classem instituit, ut per eam Indiae fines vastaret.

III

He recovered Armenia, which the Parthians had seized, putting to death Parthamasires who held the government of it. He gave a king to the Albani. He received into alliance the king of the Iberians, Sarmatians, Bosporani, Arabians, Osdroeni, and Colchians. He obtained the mastery over the Cordueni and Marcomedi, as well as over Anthemusia, an extensive region of Persia. He conquered and kept possession of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Babylon, and the country of the Messenii. He advanced as far as the boundaries of India, and the Red Sea, where he formed three provinces, Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, including the tribes which border on Madena. He afterwards, too, reduced Arabia into the form of a province. He also fitted out a fleet for the Red Sea, that he might use it to lay waste the coasts of India.

4

Gloriam tamen militarem civilitate et moderatione superavit, Romae et per provincias aequalem se omnibus exhibens, amicos salutandi causa frequentans vel aegrotantes vel cum festos dies habuissent, convivia cum isdem indiscreta vicissim habens, saepe in vehiculis eorum sedens, nullum senatorum laedens, nihil iniustum ad augendum fiscum agens, liberalis in cunctos, publice privatimque ditans omnes et honoribus augens, quos vel mediocri familiaritate cognovisset, per orbem terrarum aedificans multa, immunitates civitatibus tribuens, nihil non tranquillum et placidum agens, adeo ut omni eius aetate unus senator damnatus sit atque is tamen per senatum ignorante Traiano. Ob haec per orbem terrarum deo proximus nihil non venerationis meruit et vivus et mortuus.

IV

Yet he went beyond his glory in war, in ability and judgment as a ruler, conducting himself as an equal towards all, going often to his friends as a visitor, either when they were ill, or when they were celebrating feast days, and entertaining them in his turn at banquets where there was no distinction of rank, and sitting frequently with them in their chariots; doing nothing unjust

towards any of the senators, nor being guilty of any dishonesty to fill his treasury; exercising liberality to all, enriching with offices of trust, publicly and privately, every body whom he had known even with the least familiarity; building towns throughout the world, granting many immunities to states, and doing every thing with gentleness and kindness; so that during his whole reign, there was but one senator condemned, and he was sentenced by the senate without Trajan's knowledge. Hence, being regarded throughout the world as next to a god, he deservedly obtained the highest veneration both living and dead.

5

Inter alia dicta hoc ipsius fertur egregium. Amicis enim culpantibus, quod nimium circa omnes communis esset, respondit talem se imperatorem esse privatis, quales esse sibi imperatores privatus optasset. Post ingentem igitur gloriam belli domique quaesitam e Perside rediens apud Seleuciam Isauriae profluvio ventris extinctus est. Obiit autem aetatis anno sexagesimo tertio, mense nono, die quarto, imperii nono decimo, mense sexto, die quinto decimo. Inter Divos relatus est solusque omnium intra urbem sepultus est. Ossa conlata in urnam auream in foro, quod aedificavit, sub columna posita sunt, cuius altitudo CXLIV pedes habet. Huius tantum memoriae delatum est, ut usque ad nostram aetatem non aliter in senatu principibus adclametur, nisi "Felicior Augusto, melior Traiano". Adeo in eo gloria bonitatis obtinuit, ut vel adsentantibus vel vere laudantibus occasionem magnificentissimi praestet exempli.

V

Among other sayings of his, the following remarkable one is mentioned. When his friends found fault with him, for being too courteous to every body, he replied, that "he was such an emperor to his subjects, as he had wished, when a subject, that emperors should be to him."

After having gained the greatest glory both in the field and at home, he was cut off, as he was returning from Persia, by a diarrhoea, at Seleucia in Isauria. He died in the sixty-third year, ninth month, and fourth day of his age, and in the nineteenth year, sixth month, and fifteenth day of his reign. He was enrolled among the gods, and was the only one of all the emperors that was

buried within the city. His bones, contained in a golden urn, lie in the forum which he himself built, under a pillar whose height is a hundred and forty-four feet. So much respect has been paid to his memory, that, even to our own times, they shout in acclamations to the emperors, "More fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan!" So much has the fame of his goodness prevailed, that it affords ground for most noble illustration in the hands either of such as flatter, or of such as praise with sincerity.

6

Defuncto Traiano Aelius Hadrianus creatus est princeps, sine aliqua quidem voluntate Traiani, sed operam dante Plotina, Traiani uxore; nam eum Traianus, quamquam consobrinae suae filium, vivus noluerat adoptare. Natus et ipse Italicae in Hispania. Qui Traiani gloriae invidens statim provincias tres reliquit, quas Traianus addiderat, et de Assyria, Mesopotamia, Armenia revocavit exercitus ac finem imperii esse voluit Euphraten. Idem de Dacia facere conatum amici deterruerunt, ne multi cives Romani barbaris traderentur, propterea quia Traianus victa Dacia ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas. Dacia enim diuturno bello Decibali viris fuerat exhausta.

VI

After the death of Trajan, Aelius HADRIAN was made emperor, not from any wish to that effect having been expressed by Trajan himself, but through the influence of Plotina, Trajan's wife; for Trajan in his life-time had refused to adopt him, though he was the son of his cousin. He also was born at Italica in Spain. Envyng Trajan's glory, he immediately gave up three of the provinces which Trajan had added to the empire, withdrawing the armies from Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and deciding that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the empire. When he was proceeding, to act similarly with regard to Dacia, his friends dissuaded him, lest many Roman citizens should be left in the hands of the barbarians, because Trajan, after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities; as the land had been exhausted of inhabitants in the long war maintained by Decebalus.

Pacem tamen omni imperii sui tempore habuit, semel tantum per praesidem dimicavit. Orbem Romanum circumiit; multa aedificavit. Facundissimus Latino sermone, Graeco eruditissimus fuit. Non magnam clementiae gloriam habuit, diligentissimus tamen circa aerarium et militum disciplinam. Obiit in Campania maior sexagenario, imperii anno vicesimo primo, mense decimo, die vicesimo nono. Senatus ei tribuere noluit divinos honores, tamen cum successor ipsius T. Aurelius Antoninus Fulvius hoc vehementer exigeret, etsi universi senatores palam resisterent, tandem obtinuit.

VII

He enjoyed peace, however, through the whole course of his reign; the only war that he had, he committed to the conduct of a governor of a province. He went about through the Roman empire, and founded many edifices. He spoke with great eloquence in the Latin language, and was very learned in the Greek. He had no great reputation for clemency, but was very attentive to the state of the treasury and the discipline of the soldiers. He died in Compania, more than sixty years old, in the twenty-first year, tenth month, and twenty-ninth day of his reign. The senate was unwilling to allow him divine honours; but his successor Titus Aurelius Fulvius Antonius, earnestly insisting on it, carried his point, though all the senators were openly opposed to him.

8

Ergo Hadriano successit T. Antoninus Fulvius Boionius, idem etiam Pius nominatus, genere claro, sed non admodum vetere, vir insignis et qui merito Numae Pompilio conferatur, ita ut Romulo Traianus aequetur. Vixit ingenti honestate privatus, maiore in imperio, nulli acerbus, cunctis benignus, in re militari moderata gloria, defendere magis provincias quam amplificare studens, viros aequissimos ad administrandam rem publicam quaerens, bonis honorem habens, inprobos sine aliqua acerbitate detestans, regibus amicis venerabilis non minus quam terribilis, adeo ut barbarorum plurimae nationes depositis armis ad eum controversias suas litesque deferrent sententiaeque parerent. Hic ante imperium ditissimus opes quidem omnes suas stipendiis militum et circa amicos liberalitatibus minuit, verum aerarium opulentum reliquit. Pius propter clementiam dictus est. Obiit apud Lorium, villam suam, miliario ab urbe duodecimo, vitae anno septuagesimo tertio, imperii vicesimo

tertio, atque inter Divos relatus est et merito consecratus.

VIII

To Hadrian, then, succeeded TITUS ANTONINUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS, who was also named Pius, sprung from an eminent, though not very ancient, family: a man of high character, who may justly be compared to Numa Pompilius, as Trajan may be paralleled with Romulus. He lived, before he came to the throne, in great honour, but in greater still during his reign. He was cruel to none, but indulgent to all. His reputation in military affairs was but moderate; he studied rather to defend the provinces than to enlarge them. He sought out the most just men to fill political offices. He paid respect to the good; for the bad he showed dislike without treating them with harshness. By kings in alliance with Rome he was not less venerated than feared, so that many nations among the barbarians, laying aside their arms, referred their controversies and disputes to him, and submitted to his decision. He was very rich before he began to reign, but diminished his wealth by pay to the soldiers and bounties to his friends; he left the treasury, however, well stored. It was for his clemency that he was surnamed Pius. He died at his country seat called Lorium, twelve miles from the city, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He was enrolled among the gods, and was deservedly an object of veneration.

9

Post hunc imperavit M. Antoninus Verus, haud dubie nobilissimus, quippe cum eius origo paterna a Numa Pompilio, materna a Solentino rege penderet, et cum eo L. Annius Antoninus Verus. Tumque primum Romana res publica duobus aequo iure imperium administrantibus paruit, cum usque ad eum singulos semper habuisset Augustos.

IX

After him reigned MARCUS ANTONINUS VERUS, a man indisputably of noble birth; for his descent, on the father's side, was from Numa Pompilius, and on the mother's from a king of the Sallentines, and jointly with him reigned Lucius ANTONINUS VERUS. Then it was that the commonwealth of Rome was first subject to two sovereigns, ruling with equal power, when,

till their days, it had always had but one emperor at a time.

10

Hi et genere inter se coniuncti fuerunt et adfinitate. Nam Verus Annius Antoninus M. Antonini filiam in matrimonium habuit, M. autem Antoninus gener Antonini Pii fuit per uxorem Galeriam Faustinam iuniorem, consobrinam suam. Hi bellum contra Parthos gesserunt, qui post victoriam Traiani tum primum rebellaverant. Verus Antoninus ad id profectus est. Qui Antiochiae et circa Armeniam agens multa per duces suos et ingentia patravit. Seleuciam, Assyriae urbem nobilissimam, cum quadringentis milibus hominum cepit; Parthicum triumphum revexit. Cum fratre eodemque socero triumphavit. Obiit tamen in Venetia, cum a Concordia civitate Altinum proficisceretur et cum fratre in vehiculo sederet, subito sanguine ictus, casu morbi, quem Graeci apoplexin vocant. Vir ingenii parum civilis, reverentia tamen fratris nihil umquam atrox ausus. Cum obisset undecimo imperii anno, inter deos relatus est.

X

These two were connected both by relationship and affinity; for Verus Antoninus had married the daughter of Marcus Antoninus; and Marcus Antoninus was the son-in-law of Antoninus Pius, having married Galeria Faustina the younger, his own cousin. They carried on a war against the Parthians, who then rebelled for the first time since their subjugation by Trajan. Verus Antoninus went out to conduct that war, and, remaining at Antioch and about Armenia, effected many important achievements by the agency of his generals; he took Seleucia, the most eminent city of Assyria, with forty thousand prisoners; he brought off materials for a triumph over the Parthians, and celebrated it in conjunction with his brother, who was also his father-in-law. He died in Venetia, as he was going from the city of Concordia to Altinum. While he was sitting in his chariot with his brother, he was suddenly struck with a rush of blood, a disease which the Greeks call apoplexis. He was a man who had little control over his passions, but who never ventured to do anything outrageous, from respect for his brother. After his death, which took place in the eleventh year of his reign, he was enrolled among the gods.

Post eum M. Antoninus solus rem publicam tenuit, vir quem mirari facilius quis quam laudare possit. A principio vitae tranquillissimus, adeo ut ex infantia quoque vultum nec ex gaudio nec ex maerore mutaverit. Philosophiae deditus Stoicae, ipse etiam non solum vitae moribus, sed etiam eruditione philosophus. Tanta admirationis adhuc iuvenis, ut eum successorem paraverit Hadrianus relinquere, adoptato tamen Antonino Pio generum ei idcirco esse voluerit, ut hoc ordine ad imperium perveniret.

XI

After him MARCUS ANTONINUS held the government alone, a man whom any one may more easily admire than sufficiently commend. He was, from his earliest years, of a most tranquil disposition; so that even in his infancy he changed countenance neither for joy nor for sorrow. He was devoted to the Stoic philosophy, and was himself a philosopher, not only in his way of life, but in learning. He was the object of so much admiration, while yet a youth, that Hadrian intended to make him his successor; but having adopted Titus Antoninus Pius, he wished Marcus to become Titus's son-in-law, that he might by that means come to the throne.

12

Institutus est ad philosophiam per Apollonium Chalcedonium, ad scientiam litterarum Graecarum per Sextus Chaeronensem, Plutarchi nepotem, Latinas autem eum litteras Fronto, orator nobilissimus, docuit. Hic cum omnibus Romae aequo iure egit, ad nullam insolentiam elatus est imperii fastigio; liberalitatis promptissimae. Provincias ingenti benignitate et moderatione tractavit. Contra Germanos eo principe res feliciter gestae sunt. Bellum ipse unum gessit Marcomannicum, sed quantum nulla memoria fuit, adeo ut Punicis conferatur. Nam eo gravius est factum, quod universi exercitus Romani perierant. Sub hoc enim tantus casus pestilentiae fuit, ut post victoriam Persicam Romae ac per Italiam provinciasque maxima hominum pars, militum omnes fere copiae languore defecerint.

XII

He was trained in philosophy by Apollonius of Chalcedon; in the study of the Greek language by Sextus of Chseronea, the grandson of Plutarch; while the eminent orator Fronto instructed him in Latin literature. He conducted himself towards all men at Rome as if he had been their equal, being moved to no arrogance by his elevation to empire. He exercised the most prompt liberality, and managed the provinces with the utmost kindness and indulgence. Under his rule affairs were successfully conducted against the Germans. He himself carried on one war with the Marcomanni, but this was greater than any in the memory of man, so that it is compared to the Punic wars; for it became so much the more formidable, as whole armies had been lost; since, under the emperor, after the victory over the Parthians, there occurred so destructive a pestilence, that at Rome, and throughout Italy and the provinces, the greater part of the inhabitants, and almost all the troops, sunk under the disease.

13

Ingenti ergo labore et moderatione, cum apud Carnuntum iugi triennio perseverasset, bellum Marcomannicum confecit, quod cum his Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Suevi atque omnis barbaria commoverat, multa hominum milia interfecit, ac Pannoniis servitio liberatis Romae rursus cum Commodus Antonino, filio suo, quem iam Caesarem fecerat, triumphavit. Ad huius belli sumptum cum aerario exhausto largitiones nullas haberet neque indicere provincialibus aut senatui aliquid vellet, instrumentum regii cultus facta in foro divi Traiani sectione distraxit, vasa aurea, pocula crystallina et murrina, uxori ac suam sericam et auream vestem, multa ornamenta gemmarum. Ac per duos continuos menses ea venditio habita est multumque auri redactum. Post victoriam tamen emptoribus pretia restituit, qui reddere comparata voluerunt; molestus nulli fuit, qui maluit semel emptam retinere.

XIII

Having persevered, therefore, with the greatest labour and patience, for three whole years at Carnuntum, he brought the Marcomannic war to an end; a war which the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Suevi, and all the barbarians in that quarter, had joined with the Marcomanni in raising; he killed several thousand men, and, having delivered the Pannonians from slavery, triumphed a second time at Rome with his son Commodus Antoninus, whom he had previously

made Caesar. As he had no money to give his soldiers, in consequence of the treasury having been exhausted for the support of the war, and as he was unwilling to lay any tax on the provinces or the senate, he sold off all his imperial furniture and decorations, by an auction held in the forum of the emperor Trajan, consisting of vessels of gold, cups of crystal and murrha, silk garments belonging to his wife and himself, embroidered with gold, and numbers of jewelled ornaments. This sale was continued through two successive months, and a great quantity of money was raised from it. After his victory, however, he gave back the money to such of the purchasers as were willing to restore what they had bought, but was by no means troublesome to any one who preferred to keep their purchases.

14

Hic permisit viris clarioribus, ut convivia eodem cultu quo ipse et ministris similibus exhiberent. In editione munerum post victoriam adeo magnificus fuit, ut centum simul leones exhibuisse tradatur. Cum igitur fortunatam rem publicam et virtute et mansuetudine reddidisset, obiit XVIII imperii anno, vitæ LXI, et omnibus certatim adnitentibus inter Divos relatus est.

XIV

He allowed the more eminent men to give entertainments with the same magnificence, and the same number of attendants, as himself. In the display of games after his victory, he was so munificent, that he is said to have exhibited a hundred lions at once. Having, then, rendered the state happy, both by his excellent management and gentleness of disposition, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life, and was enrolled among the gods, all unanimously voting that such honour should be paid him.

15

Huius successor L. Antoninus Commodus nihil paternum habuit, nisi quod contra Germanos feliciter et ipse pugnavit. Septembrem mensem ad nomen suum transferre conatus est, ut Commodus diceretur. Sed luxuria et obscenitate depravatus gladiatorii armis saepissime in ludo, deinceps etiam in amphitheatro cum huiusmodi hominibus dimicavit. Obiit morte subita atque adeo, ut strangulatus vel veneno interfectus putaretur, cum annis XII post

patrem et VIII mensibus imperasset, tanta execratione omnium, ut hostis humani generis etiam mortuus iudicaretur.

XV

His successor, LUCIUS ANTONINUS COMMODUS, had no resemblance to his father, except that he fought successfully the Germans. He endeavoured to alter the name of the month of September to his own, so that it should be called Commodus. But he was corrupted with luxury and licentiousness. He often fought, with gladiator's arms, in the fencing school, and afterwards with men of that class in the amphitheatre. He died so sudden a death, that he was thought to have been strangled or despatched by poison, after he had reigned twelve years and eight months after his father, and in the midst of such execration from all men, that even after his death he was styled "the enemy of the human race."

16

Huic successit Pertinax, grandaevus iam et qui septuagenariam attigisset aetatem, praefecturam urbi tum agens, ex senatus consulto imperare iussus. Octogesimo die imperii praetorianorum militum seditione et Iuliani scelere occisus est.

XVI

To him succeeded PERTINAX, at a very advanced age, having reached his seventieth year; he was appointed to be emperor by a decree of the senate, when he was holding the office of prefect of the city. He was killed in a mutiny of the praetorian soldiers, by the villany of Julianus, on the eightieth day of his reign.

17

Post eum Salvius Iulianus rem publicam invasit, vir nobilis et iure peritissimus, nepos Salvii Iuliani, qui sub Divo Hadriano perpetuum composuit edictum. Victus est a Severo apud Mulvium pontem, interfectus in Palatio. Vixit mensibus septem, postquam coeperat imperare.

XVII

After his death SALVIUS JULIANUS seized the government, a man of noble birth, and eminently skilled in the law; he was the grandson of that Salvius Julianus who composed the perpetual edict in the reign of the emperor Hadrian. He was defeated by Severus at the Milvian bridge, and killed in the palace. He lived only eight months after he began to reign.

18

Hinc imperii Romani administrationem Septimius Severus accepit, oriundus ex Africa, provincia Tripolitana, oppido Lepti. Solus omni memoria et ante et postea ex Africa imperator fuit. Hic primum fisci advocatus, mox militaris tribunus, per multa deinde et varia officia atque honores usque ad administrationem totius rei publicae venit. Pertinacem se appellari voluit in honorem eius Pertinacis, qui a Iuliano fuerat occisus. Parcus admodum fuit, natura saevus. Bella multa et feliciter gessit. Pescennium Nigrum, qui in Aegypto et Syria rebellaverat, apud Cyzicum interfecit. Parthos vicit et Arabas interiores et Adiabenos. Arabas eo usque superavit, ut etiam provinciam ibi faceret. Idcirco Parthicus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus dictus est. Multa toto orbe Romano reparavit. Sub eo etiam Clodius Albinus, qui in occidendo Pertinace socius fuerat Iuliano, Caesarem se in Gallia fecit, victusque apud Lugdunum et interfectus.

XVIII

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS then assumed the government of the Roman empire; a native of Africa, born in the province of Tripolis, and town of Leptis. He was the only African, in all the time before or after him, that became emperor. He was first praefect of the treasury, afterwards military tribune, and then rose, through several offices and posts of honour, to the government of the whole state. He had an inclination to be called Pertinax, in honour of that Pertinax who had been killed by Julian. He was very parsimonious, and naturally cruel. He conducted many wars, and with success. He killed Pescennius Niger, who had raised a rebellion in Egypt and Syria, at Cyzicus. He overcame the Parthians, the interior Arabians, and the Adiabeni. The Arabians he so effectually reduced, that he made them a province; hence he was called Parthicus, Arabicus, and Adiabenicus. He rebuilt many edifices throughout the whole Roman world. In his reign, too, Clodius Albinus, who

had been an accomplice of Julianus in killing Pertinax, set himself up for Caesar in Gaul, and was overthrown and killed at Lyons.

19

Severus tamen praeter bellicam gloriam etiam civilibus studiis clarus fuit et litteris doctus, philosophiae scientiam ad plenum adeptus. Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit, utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per CXXXIII passuum milia a mari ad mare deduxit. Decessit Eboraci admodum senex, imperii anno sexto decimo, mense tertio. Divus appellatus est. Nam filios duos successores reliquit, Bassianum et Getam, sed Bassiano Antonini nomen a senatu voluit inponi. Itaque dictus est M. Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus patrique successit. Nam Geta hostis publicus indicatus confestim periit.

XIX

Severus, in addition to his glory in war, was also distinguished in the pursuits of peace, being not only accomplished in literature, but having acquired a complete knowledge of philosophy. The last war that he had was in Britain; and that he might preserve, with all possible security, the provinces which he had acquired, he built a rampart of thirty-two miles long from one sea to the other. He died at an advanced age at York, in the eighteenth year and fourth month of his reign, and was honoured with the title of god. He left his two sons, Bassianus and Geta, to be his successors, but desired that the name of Antoninus should be given by the senate to Bassianus only, who, accordingly, was named Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, and was his father's successor. As for Geta, he was declared a public enemy, and soon after put to death.

20

M. igitur Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, idemque Caracalla, morum fere paternorum fuit, paulo asperior et minax. Opus Romae egregium fecit lavacri, quae thermae Antoninianae appellantur, nihil praeterea memorabile. Inpatientis libidinis, qui novercam suam Iuliam uxorem duxerit. Defunctus est in Osdroena apud Edessam moliens adversum Parthos expeditionem anno imperii sexto, mense secundo, vix egressus quadragesimum tertium annum.

Funere publico elatus est.

XX

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS BASSIANUS, then, who . was also called CARACALLA, was a man very much of his father's disposition, but somewhat more rough and vindictive. He erected a bath of excellent construction at Rome, which is called the bath of Antoninus, but did nothing else worthy of record. He wanted ability to control his passions; for he married his own step-mother Julia. He died in Osdroene, near Edessa, while he was planning an expedition against the Parthians, in the sixth year and second month of his reign, having scarcely passed the forty-second year of his age. He was buried with a public funeral.

21

Deinde Opilius Macrinus, qui praefectus praetorio erat, cum filio Diadumeno facti imperatores nihil memorabile ex temporis brevitate gesserunt. Nam imperium eorum duum mensium et unius anni fuit. Seditione militari ambo pariter occisi sunt.

XXI

OPILIUS MACRINUS, who was captain of the praetorian guards, and his son DIADUMENUS, were then made emperors, but did nothing memorable, in consequence of the shortness of their reign; for it lasted but a year and two months. They were both killed together in a mutiny of the soldiers.

22

Creatus est post hos M. Aurelius Antoninus. Hic Antonini Caracallae filius putabatur, sacerdos autem Heliogabali templi erat. Is cum Romam ingenti et militum et senatus expectatione venisset, probris se omnibus contaminavit. Inpudicissime et obscenissime vixit, biennioque post et octo mensibus tumultu interfectus est militari et cum eo mater Symiasera.

XXII

After these, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS was made emperor, who was thought to be the son of Antoninus Caracalla. He was however priest of

the temple of Heliogabalus. Having come to Rome with high expectations on the part of the army and the senate, he polluted himself with every kind of impurity. He led a life of the utmost shamelessness and obscenity, and was killed at the end of two years and eight months in a tumult of the soldiers. His mother Soëmia, a native of Syria, perished with him.

23

Successit huic Aurelius Alexander, ab exercitu Caesar, a senatu Augustus nominatus, invenis admodum, susceptoque adversus Persas bello Xerxen, eorum regem, gloriosissime vicit. Militarem disciplinam severissime rexit. Quasdam tumultuantes legiones integras exauctoravit. Adsessorem habuit vel scrinii magistrum Ulpianum, iuris conditorem. Romae quoque favorabilis fuit. Periit in Gallia militari tumultu tertio decimo imperii anno et die nono. In Mamaeam, matrem suam, unice pius.

XXIII

To him succeeded AURELIUS ALEXANDER, a very young man, who was named Caesar by the army, and Augustus by the senate. Having undertaken a war with the Persians, he defeated their king Xerxes with great glory. He enforced military discipline with much severity, and disbanded whole legions that raised a disturbance. He had for his adviser, or secretary of state, Ulpian, the compiler of the law. He was also in great favour at Rome. He lost his life in Gaul, in a tumult of the soldiery, in the thirteenth year and eighth day of his reign. He testified great affection for his mother Mammaea.

BOOK IX

Maximin successful in his wars in Germany, I. — Three emperors at once, Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordian; Gordian becomes sole emperor, and goes to war with Persia, II. — The two Philips, father and son; the thousandth year of Rome, III. — Decius suppresses an insurrection in Gaul, IV. — Gallus Hostilianus and his son Volusianus, V. — Short reign of Aemilianus, VI. — Disadvantageous reign of Valerian and Gallienus; several aspirants assume the purple, VII.-X. — Claudius defeats the Goths; his honours, XI. — Quintillus, XII. — Aurelian defeats the Goths, Tetricus, Zenobia; suppresses a rebellion at Rome; his character, XIII.-XV. — Tacitus, Florianus, XVI. — Probus; his acts in Gaul and Pannonia, XVIII. — Carus; his successes in Persia; death of him and Numerianus, XVIII. XIX. — Diocletian made emperor; overthrows Carinus; suppresses an insurrection in Gaul, XX. — Makes Herculus emperor, and Constantius and Maximian Caesars; proceedings in Britain, Egypt, Africa, and among the Alemanni, XXI.-XXIII. — Varied fortune of Maximian in Persia; subjugation of the Carpi, Bastarnae, and Sarmatians, XXIV. XXV. — Character of Diocletian and Maximian; their abdication of the imperial power, XXVI.-XXVIII.

1

Post hunc Maximinus ex corpore militari primus ad imperium accessit sola militum voluntate, cum nulla senatus intercessisset auctoritas neque ipse senator esset. Is bello adversus Germanos feliciter gesto cum a militibus imperator esset appellatus, a Pupieno Aquileiae occisus est deserentibus eum militibus suis cum filio adhuc puero, cum quo imperaverat triennio et paucis diebus.

I

After him MAXIMIN came to the throne, the first emperor that was elected from the army by the will of the soldiers, no approbation of the senate being given, and he himself not being a senator. After conducting a successful war against the Germans, and being on that account saluted *Imperator* by his troops, he was slain by Pupienus at Aquileia, together with his son who was then but a boy, his soldiers forsaking him. He had reigned, with his son, three years and a few days.

2

Postea tres simul Augusti fuerunt, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordianus, duo superiores obscurissimo genere, Gordianus nobilis, quippe cuius pater, senior Gordianus, consensu militum, cum proconsulatum Africae gereret, Maximino

imperante princeps fuisset electus. Itaque cum Romam venissent, Balbinus et Pupienus in Palatio interfecti sunt, soli Gordiano imperium reservatum. Gordianus admodum puer cum Tranquillinam Romae duxisset uxorem, Ianum Geminum aperuit et ad Orientem profectus Parthis bellum intulit, qui iam moliebantur erumpere. Quod quidem feliciter gessit proeliisque ingentibus Persas adflixit. Rediens haud longe a Romanis finibus interfectus est fraude Philippi, qui post eum imperavit. Miles ei tumulum vicesimo miliario a Circesio, quod castrum nunc Romanorum est Euphratae imminens, aedificavit, exequias Romam revexit, ipsum Divum appellavit.

II

There were then three emperors at the same time, PUPIENUS, BALBINUS, and GORDIAN, the two former of very obscure origin, the last of noble birth; for the elder Gordian, his father, had been chosen prince by the consent of the soldiery in the reign of Maximin, when he held the proconsulship of Africa. When Balbinus and Pupienus came to Rome, they were killed in the palace; and the empire was given to Gordian alone.

After Gordian, when quite a boy, had married Tranquillina at Rome, he opened the temple of Janus, and, setting out for the east, made war upon the Parthians, who were then proceeding to make an irruption. This war he soon conducted with success, and made havoc of the Persians in great battles. As he was returning, he was killed, not far from the Roman boundaries, by the treachery of Philip who reigned after him. The Roman soldiers raised a monument for him, twenty miles from Circessus, which is now a fortress of the Romans, overlooking the Euphrates. His relics they brought to Rome, and gave him the title of god.

3

Philippi duo, filius ac pater, Gordiano occiso imperium invaserunt atque exercitu incolumi reducto ad Italiam ex Syria profecti sunt. His imperantibus millesimus annus Romae urbis ingenti ludorum apparatu spectaculorumque celebratus est. Ambo deinde ab exercitu interfecti sunt, senior Philippus Veronae, Romae iunior. Annis quinque imperaverunt; inter Divos tamen relati sunt.

III

When Gordian was killed, the two PHILIPS, father and son, seized on the government, and, having brought off the army safe, set out from Syria for Italy. In their reign the thousandth year of the city of Rome was celebrated with games and spectacles of vast magnificence. Soon after, both of them were put to death by the soldiery; the elder Philip at Verona, the younger at Rome. They reigned but five years. They were however ranked among the gods.

4

Post hos Decius e Pannonia inferiore Budaliae natus imperium sumpsit. Bellum civile, quod in Gallia motum, fuerat oppressit. Filium suum Caesarem fecit. Romae lavacrum aedificavit. Cum imperassent biennio ipse et filius, uterque in Barbarico interfecti sunt. Senior meruit inter Divos referri.

IV

After these, DECIUS, a native of Lower Pannonia, born at Budalia, assumed the government. He suppressed a civil war which had been raised in Gaul. He created his son Caesar. He built a bath at Rome. When he and his son had reigned two years, they were both killed in the country of the Barbarians, and enrolled among the gods.

5

Mox imperatores creati sunt Gallus Hostilianus et Galli filius Volusianus. Sub his Aemilianus in Moesia res novas molitus est; ad quem opprimendum cum ambo profecti essent, Interamnae interfecti sunt non completo biennio. Nihil omnino clarum gesserunt. Sola pestilentia et morbis atque aegritudinibus notus eorum principatus fuit.

V

Immediately after, GALLUS, HOSTILIANUS, and VOLUSIANUS the son of Gallus, were created emperors. In their reign Aemilianus attempted an insurrection in Moesia; and both of them, setting out to stop his progress, were slain at Interamna, when they had not quite completed a reign of two

years. They did nothing of any account. Their reign was remarkable only for a pestilence, and for other diseases and afflictions.

6

Aemilianus obscurissime natus obscurius imperavit ac tertio mense extinctus est.

VI

AEMILIANUS was little distinguished by birth, and less distinguished by his reign, in the third month of which he was cut off.

7

Hinc Licinius Valerianus in Raetia et Norico agens ab exercitu imperator et mox Augustus est factus. Gallienus quoque Romae a senatu Caesar est appellatus. Horum imperium Romano nomini perniciosum et paene exitiabile fuit vel infelicitate principum vel ignavia. Germani Ravennam usque venerunt. Valerianus in Mesopotamia bellum gerens a Sapore, Persarum rege, superatus est, mox etiam captus apud Parthos ignobili servitute consenuit.

VII

LICINIUS VALERIAN, who was then employed in Rhaetia and Noricum, was next made general by the army, and soon after emperor. GALLIENUS also received the title of Caesar from the senate at Rome. The reign of these princes was injurious, and almost fatal, to the Roman name, either through their ill-fortune or want of energy. The Germans advanced as far as Ravenna. Valerian, while he was occupied in a war in Mesopotamia, was overthrown by Sapor king of Persia, and being soon after made prisoner, grew old in ignominious slavery among the Parthians.

8

Gallienus, cum adulescens factus esset Augustus, imperium primum feliciter, mox commode, ad ultimum perniciose gessit. Nam iuvenis in Gallia et Illyrico multa strenue fecit occiso apud Mursam Ingenuo, qui purpuram sumpserat, et Trebelliano. Diu placidus et quietus, mox in omnem lasciviam dissolutus, tenendae rei publicae habenas probrosa ignavia et desperatione laxavit.

Alamanni vastatis Galliis in Italiam penetraverunt. Dacia, quae a Traiano ultra Danubium fuerat adiecta, tum amissa, Graecia, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia vastata est per Gothos, Pannonia a Sarmatis Quadisque populata est, Germani usque ad Hispanias penetraverunt et civitatem nobilem Tarraconem expugnaverunt, Parthi Mesopotamia occupata Syriam sibi coeperant vindicare.

VIII

Gallienus, who was made emperor when quite a young man, exercised his power at first happily, afterwards fairly, and at last mischievously. In his youth he performed many gallant acts in Gaul and Illyricum, killing Ingenuus, who had assumed the purple, at Mursa, and Regalianus. He was then for a long time quiet and gentle; afterwards, abandoning himself to all manner of licentiousness, he relaxed the reins of government with disgraceful inactivity and carelessness. The Alemanni, having laid waste Gaul, penetrated into Italy. Dacia, which had been added to the empire beyond the Danube, was lost. Greece, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia, were devastated by the Goths. Pannonia was depopulated by the Sarmatians and Quadi. The Germans made their way as far as Spain, and took the noble city of Tarraco. The Parthians, after taking possession of Mesopotamia, began to bring Syria under their power.

9

Iam desperatis rebus et deleto paene imperio Romano Postumus in Gallia, obscurissime natus, purpuram sumpsit et per annos decem ita imperavit, ut consumptas paene provincias ingenti virtute et moderatione reparaverit. Qui seditione militum interfectus est, quod Mogontiacum civitatem, quae adversus eum rebellaverat Laeliano res novas moliente, diripiendam militibus tradere noluisset. Post eum Marius, vilissimus opifex, purpuram accepit et secundo die interfectus est. Victorinus postea Galliarum accepit imperium, vir strenuissimus, sed cum nimiae libidinis esset et matrimonia aliena corrumperet, Agrippinae occisus est actuario quodam dolum machinante, imperii sui anno secundo.

IX

When affairs were in this desperate condition, and the Roman empire almost

ruined, POSTUMUS, a man of very obscure birth, assumed the purple in Gaul, and held the government with such ability for ten years, that he recruited the provinces, which had been almost ruined, by his great energy and judgment; but he was killed in a mutiny of the army, because he would not deliver up Moguntiacum, which had rebelled against him, to be plundered by the soldiers, at the time when Lucius Aelianus was endeavouring to effect a change of government.

After him Marius, a contemptible mechanic, assumed the purple, and was killed two days after. Victorinus then took on himself the government of Gaul; a man of great energy; but, as he was abandoned to excessive licentiousness, and corrupted other men's wives, he was assassinated at Agrippina, in the second year of his reign, one of his secretaries having contrived a plot against him.

10

Huic successit Tetricus senator, qui Aquitaniam honore praesidis administrans absens a militibus imperator electus est et apud Burdigalam purpuram sumpsit. Seditiones multas militum pertulit. Sed dum haec in Gallia geruntur, in Oriente per Odenathum Persae victi sunt. Defensa Syria, recepta Mesopotamia usque ad Ctesiphontem Odenathus penetravit.

X

To him succeeded Tetricus, a senator, who, when he was governing Aquitania with the title of prefect, was chosen emperor in his absence, and assumed the purple at Bourdeaux. He had to endure many insurrections among the soldiery. But while these transactions were passing in Gaul, the Persians, in the east, were overthrown by Odenathus, who, having defended Syria and recovered Mesopotamia, penetrated into the country as far as Ctesiphon.

11

Ita Gallieno rem publicam deserente Romanum imperium in Occidente per Postumum, per Odenathum in Oriente servatum est. Gallienus interea Mediolani cum Valeriano fratre occisus est imperii anno nono Claudiusque ei successit a militibus electus, a senatu appellatus Augustus. Hic Gothos Illyricum Macedoniamque vastantes ingenti proelio vicit. Parcus vir ac

modestus et iusti tenax ac rei publicae gerendae idoneus, qui tamen intra imperii biennium morbo interiit. Divus appellatus est. Senatus eum ingenti honore decoravit, scilicet ut in curia clipeus ipsi aureus, item in Capitolio statua aurea poneretur.

XI

Thus, while Gallienus abandoned the government, the Roman empire was saved in the west by Posthumus, and in the east by Odenathus. Meanwhile Gallienus was killed at Milan, together with his brother, in the ninth year of his reign, and CLAUDIUS succeeded him, being chosen by the soldiers, and declared emperor by the senate. Claudius defeated the Goths, who were laying waste Illyricum and Macedonia, in a great battle. He was a frugal and modest man, strictly observant of justice, and well qualified for governing the empire. He was however carried off by disease within two years after he began to reign, and had the title of a god. The senate honoured him with extraordinary distinctions, insomuch that a golden shield was hung up to him in the senate house, and a golden statue erected to him in the Capitol.

12

Quintillus post eum, Claudii frater, consensu militum imperator electus est, unice moderationis vir et civilitatis, aequandus fratri vel praeponendus. Consensu senatus appellatus Augustus septimo decimo imperii die occisus est.

XII

After him QUINTILLUS, the brother of Claudius, was elected emperor by agreement among the soldiers, a man of singular moderation and aptitude for governing, comparable, or perhaps superior, to his brother. He received the title of emperor with the consent of the senate, and was killed on the seventeenth day of his reign.

13

Post eum Aurelianus suscepit imperium, Dacia Ripensi oriundus, vir in bello potens, animi tamen inmodici et ad crudelitatem propensioris. Is quoque Gothos strenuissime vicit. Romanam dicionem ad fines pristinos varia bellorum felicitate revocavit. Superavit in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos

ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cuius adsiduas seditiones ferre non poterat. Quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia versu Vergiliano uteretur: “Eripe me his, invicte, malis”. Zenobiam quoque, quae occiso Odenatho marito Orientem tenebat, haud longe ab Antiochia sine gravi proelio cepit, ingressusque Romam nobilem triumphum quasi receptor Orientis Occidentisque egit praecedentibus curram Tetrico et Zenobia. Qui quidem Tetricus corrector Lucaniae postea fuit ac privatus diutissime vixit; Zenobia autem posteros, qui adhuc manent, Romae reliquit.

XIII

After his death AURELIAN succeeded to the throne. He was born in Dacia Ripensis, and was a man of ability in war, but of an ungovernable temper, and too much inclined to cruelty. He defeated the Goths with great vigour, and extended the Roman empire, by various successes in the field, to its former limits. He overthrew Tetricus at Catalauni in Gaul, Tetricus himself, indeed, betraying his own army, whose constant mutinies he was unable to bear; and he had even by secret letters entreated Aurelian to march towards him, using, among other solicitations, the verse of Virgil: —

Eripe me his, invicte, malis.

Unconquer'd hero, free me from these ills.

He also took prisoner Zenobia, who, having killed her husband Odenathus, was mistress of the east, in a battle of no great importance near Antioch, and, entering Rome, celebrated a magnificent triumph, as recoverer of the east and the west, Tetricus and Zenobia going before his chariot. This Tetricus was afterwards governor of Lucania, and lived long after he was divested of the purple. Zenobia left descendants, who still live at Rome.

Hoc imperante etiam in urbe monetarii rebellaverunt vitiatis pecuniis et Felicissimo rationali interfecto. Quos Aurelianus victos ultima crudelitate conpescuit. Plurimos nobiles capite damnavit. Saevus et sanguinarius ac necessarius magis in quibusdam quam in ullo amabilis imperator. Trux omni tempore, etiam filii sororis interfectores, disciplinae tamen militaris et morum dissolutorum magna ex parte corrector.

In his reign, the people of the mint raised a rebellion in the city, after having adulterated the money, and put to death Felicissimus the commissioner of the treasury. Aurelian suppressed them with the utmost severity; several noblemen he condemned to death. He was indeed cruel and sanguinary, and rather an emperor necessary for the times in some respects than an amiable one in any. He was always severe, and put to death even the son of his own sister. He was however a reformer, in a great degree, of military discipline and dissoluteness of manners.

Urbem Romam muris firmioribus cinxit. Templum Soli aedificavit, in quo infinitum auri gemmarumque constituit. Provinciam Daciam, quam Traianus ultra Danubium fecerat, intermisit, vastato omni Illyrico et Moesia, desperans eam posse retinere, abductosque Romanos ex urbibus et agris Daciae in media Moesia collocavit appellavitque eam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit et est in dextra Danubio in mare fluenti, cum antea fuerit in laeva. Occiditur servi sui fraude, qui ad quosdam militares viros, amicos ipsius, nomina pertulit adnotata, falso manum eius imitatus, tamquam Aurelianus ipsos pararet occidere; itaque ut praeveniretur, ab isdem interfectus est in itineris medio, quod inter Constantinopolim et Heracleam est stratae veteris; locus Caenophrurium appellatur. Mors tamen eius inulta non fuit. Meruit quoque inter Divos referri.

He surrounded the city of Rome with stronger walls. He built a temple to the Sun, in which he put a vast quantity of gold and precious stones. The province of Dacia, which Trajan had formed beyond the Danube, he gave up, despairing, after all Illyricum and Moesia had been depopulated, of being able to retain it. The Roman citizens, removed from the town and lands of Dacia, he settled in the interior of Moesia, calling that Dacia which now divides the two Moesiae, and which is on the right hand of the Danube as it runs to the sea, whereas Dacia was previously on the left. He was killed through the treachery of one of his own slaves, who carried to certain military men, the

friends of Aurelian, their own names entered upon a list, having counterfeited the hand of Aurelian, and making it appear that he intended to put them to death. That he might be prevented from doing so, he was assassinated by them in the middle of the road, the old paved way, which is between Constantinople and Heraclea. The place is called Caenophrurium. But his death was not unavenged. He also gained the honour of being enrolled among the gods. He reigned five years and six months.

16

Tacitus post hunc suscepit imperium, vir egregie moratus et rei publicae gerendae idoneus. Nihil tamen clarum potuit ostendere intra sextum mensem imperii morte praeventus. Florianus, qui Tacito successerat, duobus mensibus et diebus XX in imperio fuit neque quicquam dignum memoria egit.

XVI

After him TACITUS succeeded to the throne; a man of excellent morals, and well qualified to govern the empire. He was unable, however, to show the world anything remarkable, being cut off by death in the sixth month of his reign. FLORIANUS, who succeeded Tacitus, was on the throne only two months and twenty days, and did nothing worthy of mention.

17

Post hunc Probus, vir inlustris gloria militari, ad administrationem rei publicae accessit. Gallias a barbaris occupatas ingenti proeliorum felicitate restituit. Quosdam imperium usurpare conatos, scilicet Saturninum in Oriente, Proculum et Bonosum Agrippinae, certaminibus oppressit. Vineas Gallos et Pannonios habere permisit, opere militari Almam montem apud Sirmium et Aureum apud Moesiam superiorem vineis conseruit et provincialibus colendos dedit. Hic cum bella innumera gessisset, pace parata dixit brevi milites necessarios non futuros. Vir acer, strenuus, iustus et qui Aurelianum aequaret gloria militari, morum autem civilitate superaret. Interfectus tamen est Sirmii tumultu militari in turri ferrata.

XVII

PROBUS then succeeded to the government, a man rendered illustrious by the

distinction which he obtained in war. He recovered Gaul, which had been seized by the Barbarians, by remarkable successes in the field. He also suppressed, in several battles, some persons that attempted to seize the throne, as Saturninus in the east, and Proculus and Bonosus at Agrippina. He allowed the Gauls and Cannonians to have vineyards. By obliging his soldiers to work, too, he planted vineyards on Mount Alma in Sirmium, and on Mount Aureus in Upper Moesia, and left them to the people of the provinces to cultivate. After he had gone through a great number of wars, and had at last obtained peace, he observed, that “in a short time soldiers would not be wanted.” He was a man of spirit, activity, and justice, equalling Aurelian in military glory, and surpassing him in affability of manners. He was killed, however, at Sirmium, in an iron turret, during an insurrection of the soldiery. He reigned six years and four months.

18

Post hunc Carus est factus Augustus, Narbone natus in Gallia. Is confestim Carinum et Numerianum filios Caesares fecit. Sed dum bellum adversus Sarmatas gerit, nuntiato Persarum tumultu ad Orientem profectus res contra Persas nobiles gessit. Ipsos proelio fudit, Cochen et Ctesiphontem, urbes nobilissimas, cepit. Et cum castra super Tigridem haberet, vi divini fulminis periit. Numerianus quoque, filius eius, quem secum Caesarem ad Persas duxerat, adulescens egregiae indolis, cum oculorum dolore correptus in lecticula veheretur, impulsore Apro, qui socer eius erat, per insidias occisus est. Et cum dolo occultaretur ipsius mors, quousque Aper invadere posset imperium, foetore cadaveris prodita est. Milites enim, qui eum sequebantur, putore commoti deductis lecticulae palliis post aliquot dies mortem eius notam habere potuerunt.

XVIII

After the death of Probus, CARUS was created emperor, a native of Narbo in Gaul, who immediately made his sons, Carinus and Numerianus, Caesars, and reigned, in conjunction with them, two years. News being brought, while he was engaged in a war with the Sarmatians, of an insurrection among the Persians, he set out for the east, and achieved some noble exploits against that people; he routed them in the field, and took Seleucia and Ctesiphon, their

noblest cities, but, while he was encamped on the Tigris, he was killed by lightning. His son NUMERIANUS, too, whom he had taken with him to Persia, a young man of very great ability, while, from being affected with a disease in his eyes, he was carried in a litter, was cut off by a plot of which Aper, his father-in-law, was the promoter; and his death, though attempted craftily to be concealed until Aper could seize the throne, was made known by the odour of his dead body; for the soldiers, who attended him, being struck by the smell, and opening the curtains of his litter, discovered his death some days after it had taken place.

19

Interea Carinus, quem Caesarem ad Parthos proficiscens Carus in Illyrico, Gallia, Italia reliquerat, omnibus se sceleribus inquinavit. Plurimos innoxios fictis criminibus occidit, matrimonia nobilia corrumpit, condiscipulis quoque, qui eum in auditorio vel levi fatigatione taxaverant, perniciosus fuit. Ob quae omnibus hominibus invisus non multo post poenas dedit. Nam de Perside victor exercitus rediens, cum Carum Augustum fulmine, Numerianum Caesarem insidiis perdidisset, Diocletianum imperatorem creavit, Dalmatia oriundum, virum obscurissime natum, adeo ut a plerisque scribae filius, a nonnullis Anullini senatoris libertinus fuisse credatur.

XIX

In the meantime CARINUS, whom Carus, when he set out to the war with Parthia, had left, with the authority of Caesar, to command in Illyricum, Gaul, and Italy, disgraced himself by all manner of crimes; he put to death many innocent persons on false accusations, formed illicit connexions with the wives of noblemen, and wrought the ruin of several of his school-fellows, who happened to have offended him at school by some slight provocation. Incurring the hatred of all men. by such proceedings, he not long after met with deserved punishment.

The victorious army, on returning from Persia, as they had lost their emperor Carus by lightning, and the Caesar Numerianus by a plot, conferred the imperial dignity on DIOCLETIAN, a native of Dalmatia, of such extremely obscure birth, that he is said by most writers to have been the son of a clerk, but by some to have been a freedman of a senator named Anulinus.

Is prima militum contione iuravit Numerianum nullo suo dolo interfectum, et cum iuxta eum Aper, qui Numeriano insidias fecerat, constitisset, in conspectu exercitus manu Diocletiani percussus est. Postea Carinum omnium odio et detestatione viventem apud Margum ingenti proelio vicit, proditum ab exercitu suo, quem fortiorem habebat, aut certe desertum, inter Viminacium atque Aureum montem. Ita rerum Romanarum potitus cum tumultum rusticani in Gallia concitassent et factioni suae Bacaudarum nomen inponerent, duces autem haberent Amandum et Aelianum, ad subigendos eos Maximianum Herculum Caesarem misit, qui levibus proeliis agrestes domuit et pacem Galliae reformavit.

XX

Diocletian, in the first assembly of the army that was held, took an oath that Numerian was not killed by any treachery on his part; and while Aper, who had laid the plot for Numerian's life, was standing by, he was killed, in the sight of the army, with a sword by the hand of Diocletian. He soon after overthrew Carinus, who was living under the utmost hatred and detestation, in a great battle at Margum, Carinus being betrayed by his own troops, for though he had a greater number of men than the enemy, he was altogether abandoned by them between Viminacium and mount Aureus. He thus became master of the Roman empire; and when the peasants in Gaul made an insurrection, giving their faction the name of Bagaudae, and having for leaders Amandus and Aelianus, he despatched Maximian Herculus, with the authority of Caesar, to suppress them. Maximian, in a few battles of little importance, subdued the rustic multitude, and restored peace to Gaul.

21

Per haec tempora etiam Carausius qui vilissime natus strenuae militiae ordine famam egregiam fuerat consecutus, cum apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicae et Armorici pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant. Multis barbaris saepe captis nec praeda integra aut provincialibus reddita aut imperatoribus missa cum suspicio esse coepisset consulto ab eo admitti barbaros, ut transeuntes cum praeda exciperet atque hac se occasione ditaret, a Maximiano iussus occidi purpuram sumpsit et Britannias occupavit.

During this period, Carausius, who, though of very mean birth, had gained extraordinary reputation by a course of active service in war, having received a commission in his post at Bononia, to clear the sea, which the Franks and Saxons infested, along the coast of Belgica and Armorica, and having captured numbers of the barbarians on several occasions, but having never given back the entire booty to the people of the province or sent it to the emperors, and there being a suspicion, in consequence, that the barbarians were intentionally allowed by him to congregate there, that he might seize them and their booty as they passed, and by that means enrich himself, assumed, on being sentenced by Maximian to be put to death, the imperial purple, and took on him the government of Britain.

22

Ita cum per omnem orbem terrarum res turbatae essent, Carausius in Britanniiis rebellaret, Achilles in Aegypto, Africam Quinquegentiani infestarent, Narseus Orienti bellum inferret, Diocletianus Maximianum Herculum ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Caesares, quorum Constantius per filiam nepos Claudii traditur, Maximianus Galerius in Dacia haud longe a Serdica natus. Atque ut eos etiam adfinitate coniungeret, Constantius privignam Herculi Theodoram accepit, ex qua postea sex liberos, Constantini fratres, habuit, Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam, ambo uxores, quas habuerant, repudiare compulsi. Cum Carausio tamen, cum bella frustra temptata essent contra virum rei militaris peritissimum, ad postremum pax convenit. Eum post septennium Allectus, socius eius, occidit atque ipse post eum Britannias triennio tenuit. Qui ductu Asclepiodoti, praefecti praetorio, oppressus est. Ita Britanniae decimo anno receptae.

XXII

While disorder thus prevailed throughout the world, while Carausius was taking arms in Britain and Achilles in Egypt, while the Quinquegentiani were harassing Africa, and Narseus was making war upon the east, Diocletian promoted MAXIMIAN HERCULIUS from the dignity of Caesar to that “of

emperor, and created Constantius and Maximian Galerius Caesars, of whom Constantius is said to have been the grand-nephew of Claudius by a daughter, and Maximian Galerius to have been born in Dacia not far from Sardica. That he might also unite them by affinity, Constantius married Theodora the step-daughter of Herculus, by whom he had afterwards six children, brothers to Constantine; while Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian; both being obliged to divorce the wives that they had before. With Carausius, however, as hostilities were found vain against a man eminently skilled in war, a peace was at last arranged. At the end of seven years, Allectus, one of his supporters, put him to death, and held Britain himself for three years subsequently, but was cut off by the efforts of Asclepiodotus, praefect of the praetorian guard.

23

Per idem tempus a Constantio Caesare in Gallia bene pugnatum est. Circa Lingonas die una adversam et secundam fortunam expertus est. Nam cum repente barbaris ingruentibus intra civitatem esset coactus tam praecipiti necessitate, ut clausis portis in murum funibus tolleretur, vix quinque horis mediis adventante exercitu sexaginta fere milia Alamannorum cecidit. Maximianus quoque Augustus bellum in Africa profligavit domitis Quinquegentianis et ad pacem redactis. Diocletianus obsessum Alexandriae Achilleum octavo fere mense superavit eumque interfecit. Victoria acerbè usus est; totam Aegyptum gravibus proscriptionibus caedibusque foedavit. Ea tamen occasione ordinavit provide multa et disposuit, quae ad nostram aetatem manent.

XXIII

At the same period a battle was fought by Constantius Caesar in Gaul, at Lingonae, where he experienced both good and bad fortune in one day; for though he was driven into the city by a sudden onset of the barbarians, with such haste and precipitation that after the gates were shut he was drawn up the wall by ropes, yet, when his army came up, after the lapse of scarcely six hours, he cut to pieces about sixty thousand of the Alemanni. Maximian the emperor, too, brought the war to an end in Africa, by subduing the Quinquegentiani, and compelling them to make peace. Diocletian, meanwhile,

besieging Achilleus in Alexandria, obliged him to surrender about eight months after, and put him to death. He used his victory, indeed, cruelly, and distressed all Egypt with severe proscriptions and massacres. Yet at the same time he made many judicious arrangements and regulations, which continue to our own days.

24

Galerius Maximianus primum adversus Narseum proelium insecundum habuit inter Callinicum Carrasque congressus, cum inconsulte magis quam ignave dimicasset; admodum enim parva manu cum copiosissimo hoste commisit. Pulsus igitur et ad Diocletianum profectus cum ei in itinere occurrisset, tanta insolentia a Diocletiano fertur exceptus, ut per aliquot passuum milia purpuratus tradatur ad vehiculum cucurrisse.

XXIV

Galerius Maximian, in acting against Narseus, fought, on the first occasion, a battle far from successful, meeting him between Callinicus and Carrae, and engaging in the combat rather with rashness than want of courage; for he contended with a small army against a very numerous enemy. Being in consequence defeated, and going to join Diocletian, he was received by him, when he met him on the road, with such extreme haughtiness, that he is said to have run by his chariot for several miles in his scarlet robes.

25

Mox tamen per Illyricum Moesiamque contractis copiis rursus cum Narseo, Hormisdæ et Saporis avo, in Armenia maiore pugnavit successu ingenti nec minore consilio, simul fortitudine, quippe qui etiam speculatoris munus cum altero aut tertio equite suscepit. Pulso Narseo castra eius diripuit; uxores, sorores, liberos cepit, infinitam extrinsecus Persarum nobilitatem, gazam Persicam copiosissimam. Ipsum in ultimas regni solitudines egit. Quare a Diocletiano in Mesopotamia cum praesidiis tum morante ovans regressus ingenti honore susceptus est. Varia deinceps et simul et viritim bella gesserunt Carpis et Basternis subactis, Sarmatis victis, quarum nationum ingentes captivorum copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt.

XXV

But having soon after collected forces in Illyricum and Moesia, he fought a second time with Narseus (the grandfather of Hormisdas and Sapor), in Greater Armenia, with extraordinary success, and with no less caution and spirit, for he undertook, with one or two of the cavalry, the office of a *speculator*. After putting Narseus to flight, he captured his wives, sisters, and children, with a vast number of the Persian nobility besides, and a great quantity of treasure; the king himself he forced to take refuge in the remotest deserts in his dominions. Returning therefore in triumph to Diocletian, who was then encamped with some troops in Mesopotamia, he was welcomed by him with great honour. Subsequently, they conducted several wars both in conjunction and separately, subduing the Carpi and Bastarntae, and defeating the Sarmatians, from which nations he settled a great number of captives in the Roman territories.

26

Diocletianus moratus callide fuit, sagax praeterea et admodum subtilis ingenii, et qui severitatem suam aliena invidia vellet explere. Diligentissimus tamen et sollertissimus princeps et qui imperio Romano primus regiae consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanae libertatis invexerit adorarique se iussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur. Ornamenta gemmarum vestibis calciamentisque indidit. Nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde purpurea tantum erat, reliqua communia.

XXVI

Diocletian was of a crafty disposition, with much sagacity, and keen penetration. He was willing to gratify his own disposition to cruelty in such a way as to throw the odium upon others; he was however a very active and able prince. He was the first that introduced into the Roman empire a ceremony suited rather to royal usages than to Roman liberty, giving orders that he should be adored, whereas all emperors before him were only saluted. He put ornaments of precious stones on his dress and shoes, when the imperial distinction had previously been only in the purple robe, the rest of the habit being the same as that of other men.

Herculius autem propalam ferus et incivilis ingenii, asperitatem suam etiam vultus horrore significans. Hic naturae suae indulgens Diocletiano in omnibus est saevioribus consiliis obsecutus. Cum tamen ingravescente aevo parum se idoneum Diocletianus moderando imperio esse sentiret, auctor Herculio fuit, ut in vitam privatam concederent et stationem tuendae rei publicae viridioribus iunioribusque mandarent. Cui aegre collega obtemperavit. Tamen uterque uno die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit, Nicomediae Diocletianus, Herculus Mediolani, post triumphum inclitum, quem Romae ex numerosis gentibus egerant, pompa ferculorum inlustri, qua Narsei coniuges sororesque et liberi ante currum ducti sunt. Concesserunt tamen Salonas unus, alter in Lucaniam.

XXVII

But Herculus was undisguisedly cruel, and of a violent temper, and showed his severity of disposition in the sternness of his looks. Gratifying his own inclination, he joined with Diocletian in even the most cruel of his proceedings. But when Diocletian, as age bore heavily upon him, felt himself unable to sustain the government of the empire, he suggested to Herculus that they should both retire into private life, and commit the duty of upholding the state to more vigorous and youthful hands. With this suggestion his colleague reluctantly complied. Both of them, in the same day, exchanged the robe of empire for an ordinary dress, Diocletian at Nicomedia, Herculus at Milan, soon after a magnificent triumph which they celebrated at Rome over several nations, with a noble succession of pictures, and in which the wives, sisters, and children of Narseus were led before their chariots. The one then retired to Salona, and the other into Lucania.

28

Diocletianus privatus in villa, quae haud procul a Salonis est, praeclaro otio consenuit, inusitata virtute usus, ut solus omnium post conditum Romanum imperium ex tanto fastigio sponte ad privatae vitae statum civilitatemque remearet. Contigit igitur ei, quod nulli post natos homines, ut cum privatus obisset, inter Divos tamen referretur.

XXVIII

Diocletian lived to an old age in a private station, at a villa which is not far from Salonae, in honourable retirement, exercising extraordinary philosophy, inasmuch as he alone of all men, since the foundation of the Roman empire, voluntarily returned from so high a dignity to the condition of private life, and to an equality with the other citizens. That happened to him, therefore, which had happened to no one since men were created, that, though he died in a private condition, he was enrolled among the gods.

BOOK X

Division of the empire between Constantius and Galerius, Maximin and Severus being Caesars, I. — Constantine made emperor in Britain, and Maxentius, son of Maximian, at Rome; Maximian attempts to regain the throne; failure of Severus against Maxentius, II. — Subsequent efforts of Maximian; his death and character, III. — Four emperors at once, Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius, and Maximin, Maxentius overthrown by Constantine; death of Maximin, IV. — Licinius defeated by Constantine, who becomes sole emperor, and makes three Caesars, V. VI. — Character and death of Constantine, VII. VIII. — He is succeeded by three sons and a nephew, Constantine, Constantine, Constans, and Dalmatius; Constantius survives them all, and becomes sole emperor, suppressing Veteranio and Nepotian, IX.-XI. — Overthrow and death of Magnentius; Gallus made Caesar, XII. — Deaths of Gallus and Sylvanus, XIII. — Julian sent to Gaul by Constantius with the authority of Caesar; his successes, XIV. — Julian made emperor; death and character of Constantius, XV. — Julian's expedition to the east; his death and character, XVI. — Jovian made emperor in the east; his ill-fortune; he cedes a portion of the Roman territory to Sapor; his death, and the supposed causes of it, XVII. XVIII.

1

His igitur abeuntibus administratione rei publicae Constantius et Galerius Augusti creati sunt divisusque inter eos ita Romanus orbis, ut Galliam, Italiam, Africam Constantius, Illyricum, Asiam, Orientem Galerius obtineret, sumptis duobus Caesaribus. Constantius tamen, contentus dignitate Augusti Italiae atque Africae administrandae sollicitudinem recusavit, vir egregius et praestantissimae civilitatis, divitiis provincialium ac privatorum studens, fisci commoda non admodum adfectans, dicensque melius publicas opes a privatis haberi quam intra unum claustrum reservari, adeo autem cultus modici, ut festis diebus, si amicis numerosioribus esset epulandum, privatorum ei argento ostiatim petito triclinia sternerentur. Hic non modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit, praecipue quod Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam et Maximiani sanguinariam temeritatem imperio eius evaserant. Obiit in Britannia Eboraci principatus anno tertio decimo atque inter Divos relatus est.

I

THESE emperors, then, having retired from the government of the state, CONSTANTIUS and GALERIUS were made emperors; and the Roman world was divided between them in such a manner, that Constantius had Gaul,

Italy, and Africa; Galerius Illyricum, Asia, and the East; two Caesars being joined with them. Constantius, however, content with the dignity of emperor, declined the care of governing Africa. He was an excellent man, of extreme benevolence, who studied to increase the resources of the provinces and of private persons, cared but little for the improvement of the public treasury, and used to say that “it was better for the national wealth to be in the hands of individuals than to be laid up in one place of confinement.” So moderate was the furniture of his house, too, that if, on holidays, he had to entertain a greater number of friends than ordinary, his dining-rooms were set out with the plate of private persons, borrowed from their several houses. By the Gauls he was not only beloved but venerated, especially because, under his government, they had escaped the suspicious prudence of Diocletian, and the sanguinary rashness of Maximian. He died in Britain, at York, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and was enrolled among the gods.

2

Galerius vir et probe moratus et egregius re militari, cum Italiam quoque sinente Constantio administrationi suae accessisse sentiret, Caesares duos creavit, Maximinum, quem Orienti praefecit, et Severum, cui Italiam dedit. Ipse in Illyrico moratus est. Verum Constantio mortuo Constantinus, ex obscuriore matrimonio eius filius, in Britannia creatus est imperator et in locum patris exoptatissimus moderator accessit. Romae interea praetoriani excito tumultu Maxentium, Herculi filium, qui haud procul ab urbe in villa publica morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt. Quo nuntio Maximianus Herculus ad spem arrectus resumendi fastigii, quod invitus amiserat, Romam advolavit e Lucania, quam sedem privatus elegerat in agris amoenissimis consenesens, Diocletianumque etiam per litteras adhortatus est, ut depositam resumeret potestatem, quas ille irrisas habuit. Sed adversum motum praetorianorum atque Maxentii Severus Caesar Romam missus a Galerio cum exercitu venit obsidensque urbem militum suorum scelere desertus est. Auctae Maxentii opes confirmatumque imperium. Severus fugiens Ravennae interfectus est.

II

Galerius, a man of excellent moral character, and skilful in military affairs,

finding that Italy, by Constantius's permission, was put under his government, created two Caesars, MAXIMIN, whom he appointed over the east, and SEVERUS, to whom he committed Italy. He himself resided in Illyricum. But after the death of Constantius, CONSTANTINE, his son by a wife of obscure birth, was made emperor in Britain, and succeeded his father as a most desirable ruler. In the meantime the praetorian guards at Rome, having risen in insurrection, declared MAXENTIUS, the son of Maximian Herculus, who lived in the *Villa Publica* not far from the city, emperor. At the news of this proceeding, Maximian, filled with hopes of regaining the imperial dignity, which he had not willingly resigned, hurried to Rome from Lucania, (which, on retiring into private life, he had chosen for his place of residence, spending his old age in a most delightful country), and stimulated Diocletian by letters to resume the authority that he had laid down, letters which Diocletian utterly disregarded. Severus Caesar, being despatched to Rome by Galerius to suppress the rising of the guards and Maxentius, arrived there with his army, but, as he was laying siege to the city, was deserted through the treachery of his soldiers.

3

Herculus tamen Maximianus post haec in contione exercituum filium Maxentium nudare conatus seditionem et convicia militum tulit. Inde ad Gallias profectus est dolo composito, tamquam a filio esset expulsus, ut Constantino genero iungeretur, moliens tamen Constantinum reperta occasione interficere, qui in Galliis et militum et provincialium ingenti iam favore regnabat caesis Francis atque Alamannis captisque eorum regibus, quos etiam bestiis, cum magnificum spectaculum muneris parasset, obiecit. Detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quae dolum viro enuntiaverat, profugit Herculus Massiliaeque oppressus (ex ea enim navigare ad filium praeparabat) poenas dedit iustissimo exitu, vir ad omnem acerbiteriam saevitiamque proclivis, infidus, incommodus, civilitatis penitus expers.

III

The power of Maxentius was thus increased, and his government established. Severus, taking to flight, was killed at Eavenna. Maximian Herculus, attempting afterwards, in an assembly of the army, to divest his son

Maxentius of his power, met with nothing but mutiny and reproaches from the soldiery. He then set out for Gaul, on a planned stratagem, as if he had been driven away by his son, that he might join his son-in-law Constantine, designing, however, if he could find an opportunity, to cut off Constantine, who was ruling in Gaul with great approbation both of the soldiers and the people of the province, having overthrown the Franks and Alemanni with great slaughter, and captured their kings, whom, on exhibiting a magnificent show of games, he exposed to wild beasts. But the plot being made known by Maximian's daughter Fausta, who communicated the design to her husband, Maximian was cut off at Marseilles, whence he was preparing to sail to join his son, and died a well-deserved death; for he was a man inclined to every kind of cruelty and severity, faithless, perverse, and utterly void of consideration for others.

4

Per hoc tempus a Galerio Licinius imperator est factus, Dacia oriundus, notus ei antiqua consuetudine et in bello, quod adversus Narseum gesserat, strenuis laboribus et officiis acceptus. Mors Galerii confestim secuta. Ita res publica tum a novis quattuor imperatoribus tenebatur, Constantino et Maxentio, filiis Augustorum, Licinio et Maximino, novis hominibus. Quinto tamen Constantinus imperii sui anno bellum adversum Maxentium civile commovit, copias eius multis proeliis fudit, ipsum postremo Romae adversum nobiles omnibus exitiis saevientem apud pontem Mulvium vicit Italiaque est potitus. Non multo deinceps in Oriente quoque adversum Licinium Maximinus res novas molitus vicinum exitium fortuita apud Tarsum morte praevenit.

IV

At this time LICINIUS, a native of Dacia, was made emperor by Galerius, to whom he was known by old companionship, and recommended by his vigorous efforts and services in the war which he had conducted against Narseus. The death of Galerius followed immediately afterwards. The empire was then held by the four new emperors, Constantine and Maxentius, sons of emperors, Licinius and Maximian, sons of undistinguished men. Constantine, however, in the fifth year of his reign, commenced a civil war with Maxentius, routed his forces in several battles, and at last overthrew Maxentius himself

(when he was spreading death among the nobility by every possible kind of cruelty,) at the Milvian bridge, and made himself master of Italy. Not long after, too, Maximin, after commencing hostilities against Licinius in the east, anticipated the destruction that was falling upon him by an accidental death at Tarsus.

5

Constantinus tamen, vir ingens et omnia efficere nitens, quae animo praeparasset, simul principatum totius orbis adfectans, Licinio bellum intulit, quamquam necessitudo et adfinitas cum eo esset; nam soror Constantia nupta Licinio erat. Ac primo eum in Pannonia secunda ingenti apparatu bellum apud Cibalas instruente[m] repentinus oppressit omniq[ue] Dardania, Moesia, Macedonia potitus numerosas provincias occupavit.

V

CONSTANTINE, being a man of great energy, bent upon effecting whatever he had settled in his mind, and aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole world, proceeded to make war on Licinius, although he had formed a connexion with him by marriage, for his sister Constantia was married to Licinius. And first of all he overthrew him, by a sudden attack, at Cibalae in Pannonia, where he was making vast preparations for war; and after becoming master of Dardania, Maesia, and Macedonia, took possession also of several other provinces.

6

Varia deinceps inter eos bella gesta et pax reconciliata ruptaque est. Postremo Licinius navali et terrestri proelio victus apud Nicomediam se dedit et contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicae privatus occisus est. Eo tempore res Romana sub uno Augusto et tribus Caesaribus, quod numquam alias, fuit, cum liberi Constantini Galliae, Orienti Italiaeque praeessent. Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinus ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus egregium virum filium et sororis filium, commodae indolis iuvenem, interfecit, mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos.

VI

There were then various contests between them, and peace made and broken. At last Licinius, defeated in a battle at Nicomedia by sea and land, surrendered himself, and, in violation of an oath taken by Constantine, was put to death, after being divested of the purple, at Thessalonica.

At this time the Roman empire fell under the sway of one emperor and three Caesars, a state of things which had never existed before; the sons of Constantine ruling over Gaul, the east, and Italy. But the pride of prosperity caused Constantine greatly to depart from his former agreeable mildness of temper. Falling first upon his own relatives, he put to death his son, an excellent man; his sister's son, a youth of amiable disposition; soon afterwards his wife, and subsequently many of his friends.

7

Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Innumerae in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt. Militaris gloriae adpetentissimus, fortuna in bellis prospera fuit, verum ita, ut non superaret industriam. Nam etiam Gothos post civile bellum varie profligavit pace his ad postremum data, ingentemque apud barbaras gentes memoriae gratiam conlocavit. Civilibus artibus et studiis liberalibus deditus, adfectator iusti amoris, quem ab omnibus sibi et liberalitate et docilitate quaesivit, sicut in nonnullos amicos dubius, ita in reliquos egregius, nihil occasionum praetermittens, quo opulentiores eos clarioresque praestaret.

VII

He was a man, who, in the beginning of his reign, might have been compared to the best princes; in the latter part of it, only to those of a middling character. Innumerable good qualities of mind and body were apparent in him; he was exceedingly ambitious of military glory, and had great success in his wars; a success, however, not more than proportioned to his exertions. After he had terminated the Civil war, he also overthrew the Goths on various occasions, granting them at last peace, and leaving on the minds of the barbarians a strong remembrance of his kindness. He was attached to the arts of peace and to liberal studies, and was ambitious of honourable popularity, which he, indeed, sought by every kind of liberality and obligingness. Though he was slow, from suspicion, to serve some of his friends, yet he was

exceedingly generous towards others, neglecting no opportunity to add to their riches and honours.

8

Multas leges rogavit, quasdam ex bono et aequo, plerasque superfluas, nonnullas severas, primusque urbem nominis sui ad tantum fastigium evehere molitus est, ut Romae aemulam faceret. Bellum adversus Parthos moliens, qui iam Mesopotamiam fatigabant, uno et tricesimo anno imperii, aetatis sexto et sexagesimo, Nicomediae in villa publica obiit. Denuntiata mors eius est etiam per crinitam stellam, quae inusitatae magnitudinis aliquamdiu fulsit; eam Graeci cometen vocant. Atque inter Divos meruit referri

VIII

He enacted many laws, some good and equitable, but most of them superfluous, and some severe. He was the first that endeavoured to raise the city named after him to such a height as to make it a rival to Rome. As he was preparing for war against the Parthians, who were then disturbing Mesopotamia, he died in the Villa Publica, at Nicomedia, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-sixth of his age. His death was foretold by a star with a tail, which shone for a long time, of extraordinary size, and which the Greeks call a komh&thj. He was deservedly enrolled among the gods.

9

Is successores filios tres reliquit atque unum fratris filium. Verum Dalmatius Caesar prosperrima indole neque patruo absimilis haud multo post oppressus est factione militari et Constantio, patrueli suo, sinente potius quam iubente. Constantinum porro bellum fratri inferentem et apud Aquileiam inconsultius proelium adgressum Constantis duces interemerunt. Ita res publica ad duos Augustos redacta. Constantis imperium strenuum aliquamdiu et iustum fuit. Mox cum et valetudine inprospera et amicis pravioribus uteretur, ad gravia vitia conversus, cum intolerabilis provincialibus, militi iniucundus esset, factione Magnentii occisus est. Obiit haud longe ab Hispaniis in castro, cui Helenae nomen est, anno imperii septimo decimo, aetatis tricesimo, rebus tamen plurimis strenue in militia gestis exercituique per omne vitae tempus sine gravi crudelitate terribilis.

He left for his successors three sons and one nephew, the son of his brother. But DALMATIUS CAESAR, a man of happy genius, and not unlike his brother, was soon after cut off by a mutiny among the soldiers, Constantius, his cousin, sanctioning the act, rather than commanding it. The officers of Constans also put to death CONSTANTINE, when he was making war upon his brother, and had rashly commenced an engagement at Aquileia. Thus the government was left in the hands of two emperors. The rule of CONSTANS was for some time energetic and just, but afterwards, falling into ill-health, and being swayed by ill-designing friends, he indulged in great vices; and, becoming intolerable to the people of the provinces, and unpopular with the soldiery, was killed by a party headed by Magnentius. He died not far from the borders of Spain, in a fortress named Helena, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the thirtieth of his age; yet not till he had performed many gallant actions in the field, and had made himself feared by the army through the whole course of his life, though without exercising any extraordinary severity.

Diversa Constantii fortuna fuit. A Persis enim multa et gravia perpessus saepe captis oppidis, obsessis urbibus, caesis exercitibus, nullumque ei contra Saporem prosperum proelium fuit, nisi quod apud Singara haud dubiam victoriam ferocia militum amisit, qui pugnam seditiose et stolide contra rationem belli die iam praecipiti poposcerunt. Post Constantis necem Magnentio Italiam, Africam, Gallias obtinente etiam Illyricum res novas habuit, Vetranione ad imperium consensu militum electo. Quem grandaevum iam et cunctis amabilem diuturnitate et felicitate militiae ad tuendum Illyricum principem creaverunt, virum probum et morum veterum ac iucundae civilitatis, sed omnium liberalium artium expertem adeo, ut ne elementa quidem prima litterarum nisi grandaevus et iam imperator acceperit.

The fortune of CONSTANTIUS was different; for he suffered many grievous calamities at the hands of the Persians, his towns being often taken, his walled

cities besieged, and his troops cut off. Nor had he a single successful engagement with Sapor, except that, at Singara, when victory might certainly have been his, he lost it, through the irrepressible eagerness of his men, who, contrary to the practice of war, mutinously and foolishly called for battle when the day was declining. After the death of Constans, when MAGNENTIUS held the government of Italy, Africa, and Gaul, Illyricum also felt some new commotions, VETRANIO being elected to the throne by a combination of the soldiery, whom they made emperor when he was very old and universally popular from the length and success of his service in the field; an upright man, of morality severe as that of the ancients, and of an agreeable unassumingness of manner, but so ignorant of all polite learning, that he did not even acquire the first rudiments of literature until he was old and had become emperor.

11

Sed a Constantio, qui ad ultionem fraternae necis bellum civile commoverat, abrogatum est Vetranioni imperium; novo inusitatoque more consensu militum deponere insigne compulsus. Romae quoque tumultus fuit Nepotiano, Constantini sororis filio, per gladiatoriam manum imperium vindicante, qui saevis exordiis dignum exitium nactus est. Vicesimo enim atque octavo die a Magnentianis ducibus oppressus poenas dedit. Caput eius pilo per urbem circumlatum est, gravissimaeque proscriptiones et nobilium caedes fuerunt.

XI

But the imperial authority was snatched from Vetranio by Constantius, who stirred up a civil war to avenge his brother's death; Vetranio being compelled, with the consent of the soldiers, and, by a new and extraordinary proceeding, to divest himself of the purple. There was at the same time an insurrection at Rome, Nepotianus, a son of Constantine's sister, endeavouring to secure the throne with the aid of a body of gladiators; but he met with an end such as his savage attempts merited, for he was cut off on the twenty-eighth day of his usurpation by the officers of Magnentius, and paid the penalty of his rashness. His head was carried through the city on a lance; and dreadful proscriptions and massacres of the nobility ensued.

Non multo post Magnentius apud Mursam profligatus acie est ac paene captus. Ingentes Romani imperii vires ea dimicatione consumptae sunt, ad quaelibet bella externa idoneae, quae multum triumphorum possent securitatisque conferre. Orienti mox a Constantio Caesar est datus patruus filius Gallus, Magnentiusque diversis proeliis victus vim vitae suae apud Lugdunum attulit imperii anno tertio, mense septimo, frater quoque eius Decentius Senonibus, quem ad tuendas Gallias Caesarem miserat.

XII

Not long afterwards Magnentius was overthrown in a battle at Mursa, and nearly taken prisoner. Vast forces of the Roman empire were cut off in that struggle, sufficient for any foreign wars, and for procuring many triumphs, and a lasting peace. Soon after, GALLUS, his uncle's son, was appointed by Constantius, as Caesar, over the east; and Magnentius, being defeated in several battles, put an end to his life at Lyons, in the third year and seventh month of his reign, as did also his brother at Sens, whom he had sent as Caesar to defend Gaul.

13

Per haec tempora etiam a Constantio multis incivilibus gestis Gallus Caesar occisus est, vim natura ferus et ad tyrannidem pronior, si suo iure imperare licuisset. Silvanus quoque in Gallia res novas molitus ante diem tricesimum extinctus est, solusque imperio Romano eo tempore Constantius princeps et Augustus fuit.

XIII

About this time the Caesar Gallus, after committing many tyrannical acts, was put to death by Constantius. Gallus was a man naturally cruel, and too much inclined to tyranny, if he could but have reigned in his own right. Silvanus also, who attempted an insurrection in Gaul, was cut off before the end of thirty days; and Constantius then remained sole ruler and emperor over the Roman dominions.

14

Mox Iulianum Caesarem ad Gallias misit, patruum suum, Galli fratrem,

tradita ei in matrimonium sorore, cum multa oppida barbari expugnassent, alia obsiderent, ubique foeda vastitas esset Romanumque imperium non dubia iam calamitate nutaret. A quo modicis copiis apud Argentoratum, Galliae urbem, ingentes Alamannorum copiae extinctae sunt, rex nobilissimus captus, Galliae restitutae. Multa postea per eundem Iulianum egregia adversum barbaros gesta sunt summotique ultra Rhenum Germani et finibus suis Romanum imperium restitutum.

XIV

He then sent into Gaul, with the authority of Caesar, his cousin Julian, the brother of Gallus, giving him his sister in marriage, at a time when the barbarians had stormed many towns and were besieging others, when there was every where direful devastation, and when the Roman empire was tottering in evident distress. But by Julian, with but a moderate force, vast numbers of the Alemanni were cut off at Strasburg, a city of Gaul; their distinguished king was taken prisoner, and Gaul recovered. Many other honourable achievements, too, were afterwards performed by Julian against the barbarians, the Germans being driven beyond the Rhine, and the Roman empire extended to its former limits.

15

Neque multo post, cum Germaniciani exercitus a Galliarum praesidio tollerentur, consensu militum Iulianus factus Augustus est, interiectoque anno ad Illyricum obtinendum profectus Constantio Parthicis proeliis occupato. Qui rebus cognitis ad bellum civile conversus in itinere obiit inter Ciliciam Cappadociamque anno imperii octavo et tricesimo, aetatis quinto et quadragesimo, meruitque inter Divos referri, vir egregiae tranquillitatis, placidus, nimium amicis et familiaribus credens, mox etiam uxoribus deditior, qui tamen primis imperii annis ingenti se modestia egerit, familiarium etiam locupletator neque inhonoros sinens, quorum laboriosa expertus fuisset officia, ad severitatem tum propensior, si suspicio imperii moveretur, mitis alias, et cuius in civilibus magis quam in externis bellis sit laudanda fortuna.

XV

Not long after, when the German armies were withdrawing from the defence

of Gaul, JULIAN was made emperor by the unanimous consent of the army, and, after the lapse of a year, went to take the government of Illyricum, while Constantius was engaged in the war with Parthia. Constantius, hearing what had occurred, and returning to the civil strife, died on his march between Cilicia and Cappadocia, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his age, and was deservedly enrolled among the gods. He was a man of a remarkably tranquil disposition, good-natured, trusting too much to his friends and courtiers, and at last too much in the power of his wives. He conducted himself with great moderation in the commencement of his reign; he enriched his friends, and suffered none, whose active services he had experienced, to go unrewarded. He was however somewhat inclined to severity, whenever any suspicion of an attempt on the government was excited in him; otherwise he was gentle. His fortune is more to be praised in civil than in foreign wars.

16

Hinc Iulianus rerum potitus est ingentique apparatu Parthis intulit bellum, cui expeditioni ego quoque interfui. Aliquot oppida et castella Persarum in deditionem accepit vel vi expugnavit Assyriamque populatus castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquamdiu habuit. Remeansque victor, dum se inconsultius proeliis inserit, hostili manu interfectus est VI Kal. Iul., imperii anno septimo, aetatis altero et tricesimo, atque inter Divos relatus est, vir egregius et rem publicam insigniter moderaturus, si per fata licuisset. Liberalibus disciplinis adprime eruditus, Graecis doctior atque adeo, ut Latina eruditio nequaquam cum Graeca scientia conveniret, facundia ingenti et prompta, memoriae tenacissimae, in quibusdam philosopho propior. In amicos liberalis, sed minus diligens quam tantum principem decuit. Fuerunt enim nonnulli, qui vulnera gloriae eius inferrent. In provinciales iustissimus et tributorum, quatenus fieri posset, repressor. Civilis in cunctos, mediocrem habens aerarii curam, gloriae avidus ac per eam animi plerumque inmodici, religionis Christianae nimius insectator, perinde tamen, ut cruore abstineret, M. Antonino non absimilis, quem etiam aemulari studebat.

XVI

Julian then became sole emperor, and made war, with a vast force, upon the

Parthians; in which expedition I was also present. Several towns and fortresses of the Persians he induced to surrender, or took them by storm; and, having laid waste Assyria, fixed his camp for some time at Ctesiphon. As he was returning victorious, and mingling rashly in the thick of a battle, he was killed by the hand of an enemy, on the 26th of June, in the seventh year of his reign, and the thirty-second of his age, and was enrolled among the gods. He was a remarkable man, and one that would have governed the empire with honour, if he had but been permitted by the fates. He was eminently accomplished in liberal branches of knowledge, but better read in the literature of the Greeks, so much so indeed that his Latin was by no means comparable to his Greek learning. He was possessed of great and ready eloquence, and of a most tenacious memory. In some respects he was more like a philosopher than a prince. Towards his friends he was liberal, yet less discriminating as to the objects of his generosity than became so great an emperor; for there were some of them that cast a stain on his glory. To the people of the provinces he was most just, and remitted the taxes on them as far as was possible. He was indulgent towards all men; he felt no great anxiety about the public treasury; but of glory he was a great lover, and manifested even an intemperate desire for the attainment of it. He was a persecutor of the Christian religion, yet so that he abstained from shedding blood. He was not unlike Marcus Antoninus, whom he even studied to rival.

Post hunc Iovianus, qui tunc domesticus militabat, ad obtinendum imperium consensu exercitus lectus est, commendatione patris militibus quam sua notior. Qui iam turbatis rebus exercitu quoque inopia laborante uno a Persis atque altero proelio victus pacem cum Sapore, necessariam quidem, sed ignobilem, fecit, multatus finibus ac nonnulla imperii Romani parte tradita. Quod ante eum annis mille centum et duobus de viginti fere, ex quo Romanum imperium conditum erat, numquam accidit. Quin etiam legiones nostrae ita et apud Caudium per Pontium Telesinum et in Hispania apud Numantiam et in Numidia sub iugum missae sunt, ut nihil tamen finium traderetur. Ea pacis conditio non penitus reprehendenda foret, si foederis necessitatem tum cum integrum fuit mutare voluisset, sicut a Romanis omnibus his bellis, quae commemoravi, factum est. Nam et Samnitibus et

Numantinis et Numidis confestim bella inlata sunt neque pax rata fuit. Sed dum aemulum imperii veretur, intra Orientem residens gloriae parum consuluit. Itaque iter ingressus atque Illyricum petens in Galatiae finibus repentina morte obiit, vir alias neque iners neque imprudens.

XVII

After him JOVIAN, who attended him in the expedition as one of his body-guard, was chosen by the suffrages of the soldiers to fill the throne; a man better known to the army by the fame of his father than by his own. As affairs were now in confusion, and the army distressed for want of provisions, Jovian, after being defeated in one or two battles by the Persians, made peace with Sapor, a peace which was necessary indeed, but ignominious, for he was obliged to contract his boundaries, a portion of the Roman dominions being ceded to the enemy; a disgrace which had never occurred, before his time, since the Roman empire had been founded, during a space of one thousand one hundred and eighteen years. And though our legions were made to pass under the yoke, both at Caudium by Pontus Telesinus, at Numantia in Spain, and in Numidia, yet no part of the Roman territory was given up on any of those occasions. Such terms would not have been altogether reprehensible, if he had been resolved, when it should be in his power, to throw off the obligation of the treaty, as was done by the Romans in all the wars that I have mentioned; for war was immediately after made upon the Samnites, Numantines, and Numidians, and the peace was never ratified. But being in dread, as long as he remained in the east, of a rival for the imperial dignity, he thought too little of his glory. After marching from thence, accordingly, and directing his course towards Illyricum, he died suddenly on the borders of Galatia. He was a man, in other parts of his conduct, deficient neither in energy nor understanding,

Multi exanimatum opinantur nimia cruditate (inter cenandum enim epulis indulserat), alii odore cubiculi, quod ex recenti tectorio calcis grave quiescentibus erat, quidam nimietate prunarum, quas gravi frigore adoleri multas iusserat. Decessit imperii mense septimo, tertio decimo Kal. Mart., aetatis, ut qui plurimum vel minimum tradunt, tertio et tricesimo anno, ac

benignitate principum, qui ei successerunt, inter Divos relatus est. Nam et civilitati propior et natura admodum liberalis fuit. Is status erat Romanae rei Ioviano eodem et Varroniano consulibus anno urbis conditae millesimo centesimo et octavo decimo. Quia autem ad inclitos principes venerandosque perventum est, interim operi modum dabimus. Nam reliqua stilo maiore dicenda sunt. Quae nunc non tam praetermittimus, quam ad maiorem scribendi diligentiam reservamus.

XVIII

Many think that he was carried off by a violent fit of indigestion, for he had indulged in delicacies at supper; others suppose that he died of the odour of his chamber, which, from a recent plastering of lime, was dangerous to such as slept in it; others imagine that he fell a victim to the overpowering effects of charcoal, which he had ordered to be burnt in great abundance on account of the extreme cold. He died in the seventh month of his reign, on the 18th of April, in the thirty-third year of his age, and, by the kindness of the emperors that succeeded him, was enrolled among the gods; for he was inclined to equity, and liberal by nature.

Such was the state of the Roman empire in the consulship of the Emperor Jovian and Varronianus, in the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen from the foundation of the city. But as we have now come to illustrious and venerable princes, we shall here fix a limit to the present part of our work; for the things that remain must be told in a more elevated style; and we do not, for the present, so much omit them, as reserve them for higher efforts in writing.

The Biography



Statue of Emperor Valentinian II (371-392), who reigned from 375 to 392 — Eutropius served as imperial consul under Valentinian II in 387.

Life of Eutropius by J. C. Hazzard



OF THE LIFE of Eutropius we know very little. Only once in his work does he mention himself, Bk. X, Ch. 16. He was proconsul in Asia in 371 A.D., and praetorian praefect 380-387 A.D. He is said to have been the secretary of the Emperor Constantine the Great.

The only one of his works that is extant is the *Breviārium*, a brief history of Rome from the founding of the city to the death of the Emperor Jovian, 364 A.D. He dedicated the work to the Emperor Valens, 364-378 A.D., composing it probably at the emperor's request.

Through the republican period he follows Livy, whom he knows at first hand. Afterwards he takes Suetonius and the Augustan History for his guides. His style is simple and terse, and the diction is very good for the age in which the book was written. As a historian his judgment is cool and impartial. He makes some blunders, but mostly in the matter of dates. A Greek translation made by a certain Capito, a Lycian, is mentioned, but it has been lost. A later Greek version by Paeanius is extant.

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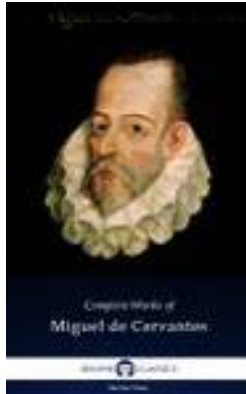
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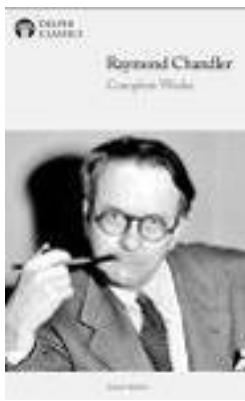
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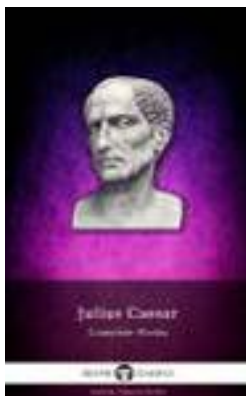
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Giacomo Leopardi
Hafez
Heinrich Heine
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry Lawson
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Isaac Rosenberg
James Russell Lowell
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
John Clare
John Donne
John Dryden
John Gay
John Greenleaf Whittier
John Gower
John Keats
John Milton
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
Joseph Addison

Kahlil Gibran
Leigh Hunt
Lord Byron
Ludovico Ariosto
Luís de Camões
Mary Robinson
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Prior
Michael Drayton
Nikolai Nekrasov
Paul Laurence Dunbar
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Petrarch
Rabindranath Tagore
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Robert Browning
Robert Burns
Robert Frost
Robert Southey
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Saadi
Sanskrit Epics
Sara Teasdale
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sir Philip Sidney
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Thomas Chatterton
Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hood
Thomas Moore
Torquato Tasso
T. S. Eliot
W. B. Yeats
Walter Savage Landor
Walt Whitman
Wilfred Owen
William Blake
William Congreve
William Cowper



Masters of Art

Albrecht Dürer

Amedeo Modigliani

Anthony van Dyck

Artemisia Gentileschi

Berthe Morisot

Camille Pissarro

Canaletto

Caravaggio

Caspar David Friedrich

Claude Lorrain

Claude Monet

Correggio

Dante Gabriel Rossetti

Diego Velázquez

Donatello

Edgar Degas

Édouard Manet

Edvard Munch

El Greco

Eugène Delacroix

Francisco Goya

Georges Seurat

Giotto

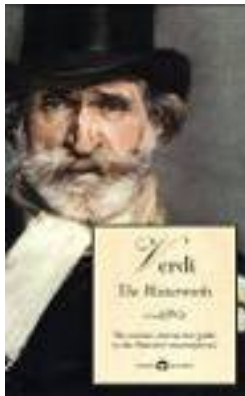
Giovanni Bellini

Gustave Courbet

Gustav Klimt

Hieronymus Bosch

Hokusai
Jacques-Louis David
James Abbott McNeill Whistler
Jan van Eyck
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
J. M. W. Turner
Johannes Vermeer
John Constable
Leonardo da Vinci
Masaccio
Michelangelo
Paul Cézanne
Paul Gauguin
Paul Klee
Peter Paul Rubens
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Piet Mondrian
Sandro Botticelli
Raphael
Rembrandt van Rijn
Thomas Gainsborough
Tintoretto
Titian
Vincent van Gogh
Wassily Kandinsky
William Hogarth



Great Composers

Antonio Vivaldi

Antonín Dvořák
Franz Schubert
Frédéric Chopin
Giuseppe Verdi
Johann Sebastian Bach
Joseph Haydn
Ludwig van Beethoven
Piotr Illitch Tchaikovsky
Richard Wagner
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Alphabetical List of Titles



A. E. Housman
A. E. W. Mason
A. Merritt
Abraham Lincoln
Achilles Tatius
Adam Mickiewicz
Adam Smith
Aeschines
Aeschylus
Albrecht Dürer
Aldous Huxley
Alexander Pope
Alexander Pushkin
Alexandre Dumas (English)
Alfred, Lord Tennyson
Algernon Blackwood
Algernon Charles Swinburne
Ambrose Bierce
Amedeo Modigliani
Ammianus Marcellinus
Anatole France
Andrew Lang
Andrew Marvell
Ann Radcliffe
Anna Katharine Green

Anthony Hope
Anthony Trollope
Anthony van Dyck
Anton Chekhov
Antonín Dvořák
Antonio Vivaldi
Aphra Behn
Apollodorus
Apollonius of Rhodes
Appian
Apuleius
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arnold Bennett
Arrian
Artemisia Gentileschi
Arthur Machen
Arthur Morrison
Arthur Schopenhauer
Athenaeus
August Strindberg
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Baroness Emma Orczy
Baruch Spinoza
Beatrix Potter
Beaumont and Fletcher
Bede
Ben Jonson
Benjamin Disraeli
Beowulf
Berthe Morisot
Blaise Pascal
Booth Tarkington
Bram Stoker
Bret Harte
C. S. Forester
C. S. Lewis
Callimachus
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Captain Frederick Marryat
Captain Mayne Reid
Caravaggio
Carolyn Wells
Caspar David Friedrich
Cassius Dio

Cato
Catullus
Charles and Mary Lamb
Charles Brockden Brown
Charles Darwin
Charles Dickens
Charles Kingsley
Charles Lever
Charles Reade
Charles W. Chesnutt
Charlotte M. Yonge
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
Charlotte Smith
Christina Rossetti
Christopher Marlowe
Cicero
Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Claudian
Clement of Alexandria
Confederation Poets
Confucius
Cornelius Nepos
Correggio
D. H. Lawrence (poetry)
D.H. Lawrence
Daniel Defoe
Dante Alighieri (English)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti (art)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti (poetry)
Dashiell Hammett
David Hume
Delphi Poetry Anthology
Demosthenes
Dickensiana Volume I
Diego Velázquez
Dinah Craik
Dio Chrysostom
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Donatello
E. F. Benson
E. M. Delafield
E. M. Forster
E. Nesbit
E. Phillips Oppenheim

E. W. Hornung
Earl Derr Biggers
Edgar Allan Poe
Edgar Allan Poe (poetry)
Edgar Degas
Edgar Rice Burroughs
Edgar Wallace
Edith Wharton
Edmund Burke
Edmund Spenser
Edmund Waller
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch
Edward Bulwer-Lytton
Edward Gibbon
Edward Lear
Edward Thomas
Edwin Arlington Robinson
El Greco
Elizabeth Barrett Browning
Elizabeth Gaskell
Elizabeth Inchbald
Elizabeth von Arnim
Ella Wheeler Wilcox
Ellen Wood
Émile Zola
Emily Dickinson
Ennius
Epic of Gilgamesh
Epictetus
Erasmus
Ernest Bramah
Ernest Hemingway
Euclid
Eugène Delacroix
Eugene Sue
Euripides
Eusebius
Eutropius
Evelyn Waugh
Ezra Pound
F. Marion Crawford
F. Scott Fitzgerald
Fergus Hume
Florus
Ford Madox Ford
Frances Burney

Frances Hodgson Burnett
Frances Trollope
Francis Bacon
Francisco Goya
François Rabelais
Frank Norris
Frank R. Stockton
Franz Schubert
Fred M. White
Frédéric Chopin
Frederick Douglass
Friedrich Nietzsche
Friedrich Schiller (English)
Frontius
Fronto
Fyodor Dostoyevsky
G. A. Henty
G. K. Chesterton
Galileo Galilei
Gaston Leroux
Geoffrey Chaucer
Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel
George Berkeley
George Bernard Shaw
George Chapman
George du Maurier
George Eliot
George Gissing
George Griffith
George Herbert
George MacDonald
George Meredith
George Moore
George Orwell
Georges Seurat
Gerard Manley Hopkins
Gertrude Stein
Giacomo Leopardi
Gilbert and Sullivan
Giotto
Giovanni Bellini
Giovanni Boccaccio
Giuseppe Verdi
Grant Allen
Gregory I
Gustav Klimt
Gustave Courbet

Gustave Flaubert (English)
Guy Boothby
Guy de Maupassant
H. G. Wells
H. P. Lovecraft
H. Rider Haggard
Hafez
Hall Caine
Hamlin Garland
Hans Christian Andersen
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Heinrich Heine
Henrik Ibsen
Henry David Thoreau
Henry Fielding
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry James
Henry Lawson
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Henryk Sienkiewicz
Herman Melville
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hieronymus Bosch
Hilaire Belloc
Hippocrates
Hokusai
Homer
Honoré de Balzac (English)
Horace
Horace Walpole
Howard Pyle
Hugh Lofting
Hugh Walpole
Ian Fleming
Immanuel Kant
Isaac Rosenberg
Isocrates
Ivan Turgenev
Izaak Walton
J. M. Barrie
J. M. Synge
J. M. W. Turner
J. S. Fletcher
J. W. von Goethe (English)
Jack London
Jacques-Louis David

James Abbott McNeill Whistler
James Fenimore Cooper
James Joyce
James Russell Lowell
Jan van Eyck
Jane Austen
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Jerome K. Jerome
Joel Chandler Harris
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
Johann Sebastian Bach
Johanna Spyri
Johannes Vermeer
John Buchan
John Bunyan
John Calvin
John Clare
John Constable
John Donne
John Dryden
John Galsworthy
John Galt
John Gay
John Gower
John Greenleaf Whittier
John Keats
John Kendrick Bangs
John Locke
John Milton
John Muir
John Ruskin
John Steinbeck
John Stuart Mill
John Webster
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
Jonathan Swift
Joseph Addison
Joseph Addison
Joseph Conrad
Joseph Haydn
Josephus
Jules Verne
Julian
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Kahlil Gibran

Karl Marx
Kate Chopin
Katherine Mansfield
Kenneth Grahame
L. Frank Baum
L. M. Montgomery
Lafcadio Hearn
Laurence Sterne
Leigh Hunt
Leo Tolstoy
Leonardo da Vinci
Lewis Carroll
Livy
Longus
Lord Byron
Lord Dunsany
Louisa May Alcott
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Ludovico Ariosto
Ludwig van Beethoven
Luís de Camões
Lytton Strachey
M. E. Braddon
M. P. Shiel
M. R. James
Manetho
Marcel Proust (English)
Marcus Aurelius
Margaret Oliphant
Maria Edgeworth
Marie Corelli
Mark Twain
Martial
Martin Luther
Mary Robinson
Mary Shelley
Mary Wollstonecraft
Masaccio
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Lewis
Matthew Prior
Maurice Leblanc
Max Brand
Maxim Gorky
Michael Drayton

Michel de Montaigne
Michelangelo
Miguel de Cervantes
Molière
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Nevil Shute
Niccolò Machiavelli
Nikolai Gogol
Nikolai Nekrasov
Nonnus
Norse Sagas
O. Henry
Olaf Stapledon
Oliver Goldsmith
One Thousand and One Nights
Origen
Oscar Wilde
Ouida
Ovid
P. G. Wodehouse
Paul Cézanne
Paul Gauguin
Paul Klee
Paul Laurence Dunbar
Pausanias
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Peter Paul Rubens
Petrarch
Petronius
Philip Massinger
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Piet Mondrian
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Pindar
Piotr Illitch Tchaïkovsky
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
R. Austin Freeman

R. D. Blackmore
R. M. Ballantyne
R. S. Surtees
Rabindranath Tagore
Radclyffe Hall
Rafael Sabatini
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Raphael
Raymond Chandler
Rembrandt van Rijn
René Descartes
Richard Brinsley Sheridan
Richard Marsh
Richard Wagner
Robert Browning
Robert Burns
Robert E. Howard
Robert Frost
Robert Louis Stevenson
Robert Southey
Robert W. Chambers
Romain Rolland
Rudyard Kipling
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Saadi
Sabine Baring-Gould
Saki
Sallust
Samuel Butler
Samuel Johnson
Samuel Pepys
Samuel Richardson
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sandro Botticelli
Sanskrit Epics
Sappho
Sara Teasdale
Sarah Orne Jewett
Sax Rohmer
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sheridan Le Fanu
Sherwood Anderson
Sidonius
Sigmund Freud
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

Sir Issac Newton
Sir Philip Sidney
Sir Richard Burton
Sir Thomas Malory
Sir Thomas More
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Walter Scott
Sophocles
Stanley J. Weyman
Statius
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Stephen Leacock
Strabo
Suetonius
T. S. Eliot
Tacitus
Talbot Mundy
Terence
Tertullian
The Brontës
The Brothers Grimm
The Harvard Classics
Theocritus
Theodore Dreiser
Theophrastus
Thomas Aquinas
Thomas Babington Macaulay
Thomas Browne
Thomas Carlyle
Thomas Chatterton
Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Dekker
Thomas Gainsborough
Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hobbes
Thomas Hood
Thomas Jefferson
Thomas Love Peacock
Thomas Middleton
Thomas Moore
Thomas Paine
Thucydides
Tibullus

Tintoretto
Titian
Tobias Smollett
Torquato Tasso
Varro
Victor Hugo
Vincent van Gogh
Virgil
Virginia Woolf
Vitruvius
Voltaire
W. B. Yeats
W. Somerset Maugham
W. W. Jacobs
Walt Whitman
Walter Pater
Walter Savage Landor
Washington Irving
Wassily Kandinsky
Wilfred Owen
Wilkie Collins
Willa Cather
William Blake
William Congreve
William Cowper
William Dean Howells
William Faulkner
William Harrison Ainsworth
William Hazlitt
William Hogarth
William Hope Hodgson
William James
William Le Queux
William Makepeace Thackeray
William Morris
William Shakespeare
William Wordsworth
William Wycherley
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
Xenophon
Zane Grey

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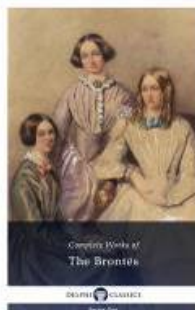
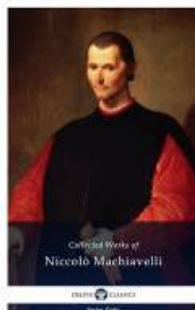
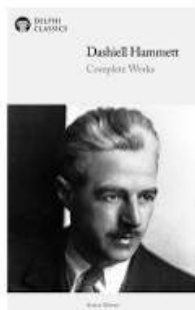
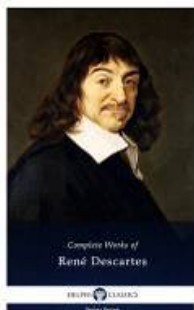
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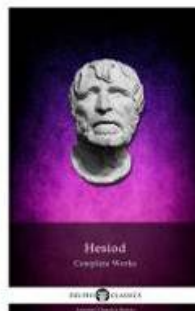
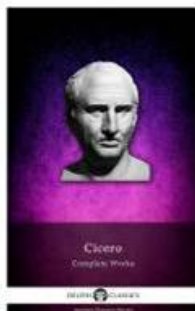
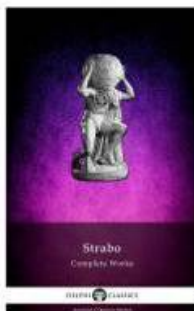
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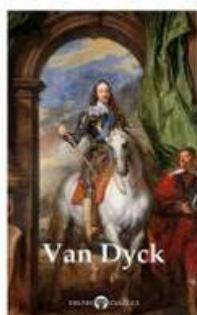
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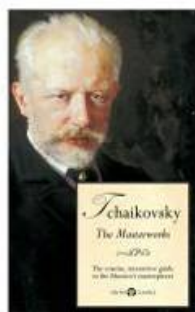
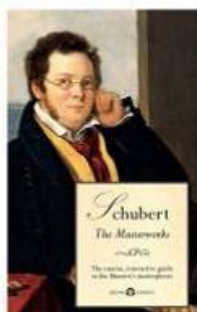
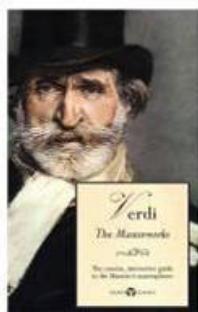
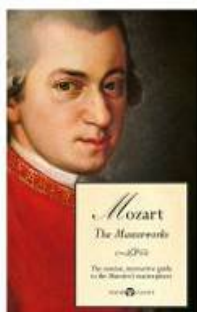
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